

# MINNESOTA HISTORY

## A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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VOLUME 17

DECEMBER, 1936

NUMBER 4

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### MARK TWAIN ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

In the fall of 1874 William Dean Howells, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, importuned Mark Twain for something to put into the columns of that periodical for the coming year. Twain at first demurred, but later informed Howells that a mutual friend, the Reverend Joseph H. Twichell, had suggested that his early experiences as a pilot on the Mississippi would be "a virgin subject to hurl into a magazine!"<sup>1</sup> Acting upon this hint Twain sent an experimental paper to the editor of the *Atlantic*. Howells was enraptured and begged for more. The result was the series of papers printed monthly from January to June and in August of 1875 under the caption, "Old Times on the Mississippi." Thus it is interesting to note that neither the conception of nor the early stimulus for one of Mark Twain's greatest books was original with the author.

It was a labor of love, this setting down on paper the experiences of a cub pilot on the Father of Waters before the Civil War marked the end of the steamboating era. But Mark Twain was not content with mining in the treasure trove of reminiscence. He wished to revisit the great river, to write a book about it, to perpetuate in so far as he was able its history, its multiplicity of existence, its captivation. As early as 1875 he had urged Howells to accompany him on an exploratory trip, but Howells found the press of

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Albert Bigelow Paine, in *Mark Twain, A Biography*, 2: 531 (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1912).

affairs too, exacting.<sup>2</sup> Delay followed delay, and it was not until April, 1882, that the desire was finally realized. Twain's companions then were his publisher, James R. Osgood, and a Hartford stenographer, Roswell Phelps.<sup>3</sup>

The plan of the party was to travel by rail to St. Louis, then to transfer to a steamer and descend the river as far as New Orleans. After a brief visit there, including a talk with Joel Chandler Harris (whom Twain had futilely tried to induce to accompany him on a lecture tour), they were to ascend the Mississippi as far as St. Paul, the terminus of their trip. Originally Twain had intended to travel incognito, hoping by that method to observe the better and to gather the necessary information. He even went to the trouble of inventing an alias, C. L. Samuel, but found that neither the pseudonym nor his own reticence was a satisfactory disguise.<sup>4</sup> When he reached St. Paul he dropped both.

For a large part of the journey Twain was very happy. Besides renewing old acquaintances en route he stopped off at Hannibal, his boyhood home, and lingered there for three days in a kind of sentimental haze. But soon after, the weariness incident to a long trip of any kind began to tell on him, and even though he had never seen the upper river he commenced to show petulant irritation. Writing to his wife from Quincy on May 17, he admitted his homesickness and his fatigue; particularly he spoke of "this hideous trip to St. Paul."<sup>5</sup> The great sweep of the channel, however, still exerted a fascination over the old riverman, and he could not resist penning a tribute to the color that engulfed him. "The water above Dubuque is olive green, beautiful and semi-transparent with the sun on it. Upper Mississippi the home of superb sunsets." Nor was he unimpressed by the famous valley as his boat, the "Minneapolis," steamed

<sup>2</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, 2: 532.

<sup>3</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, 2: 735.

<sup>4</sup> Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Letters*, 1: 417 (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1917).

<sup>5</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, 2: 740; Twain, *Letters*, 1: 419.

toward the Falls of St. Anthony. He commented later on the exquisite beauty of the bluffs above St. Paul:

Where the rough broken turreted rocks stand up against a sky above the steep verdant slope, they are inexpressibly rich and mellow in color—soft dark brown mingled with dull green—the very place to make an artist worship. Remind one of the old houses in Spanish New Orleans.

But even the scenery did not make Mark Twain forget his perennial interest, humanity, and he has left in his notebook a graphic picture of an immigrant family, impoverished and lonely:

Wretched poor family on boat going to the frontier—man on deck with wagon; woman and several little children allowed in cabin for charity's sake. They slept on sofas and floor in glare of lamps and without covering, must have frozen last night.

Perhaps these very immigrants recalled to the old pilot the days when the river teemed with life and when steamboat captains had difficulty in stowing away the cargoes that awaited them everywhere. How different things were in 1882! Empty landings greeted the traveler and the whistle of the arriving vessel produced no thunderous reception. "The romance of boating is gone now," Twain wrote sadly in his journal. "In Hannibal the steamboatman is no longer a god."<sup>8</sup>

The humorist arrived in St. Paul at seven o'clock in the morning on Sunday, May 21. Frigid weather welcomed him, the mercury having dropped to thirty-seven degrees, and in Iowa shortly afterward three inches of snow fell. The newspaper brethren were as a whole laconic about his presence, being much more interested in the arrival of the Duke of Manchester and a party of English nobles en route to Manitoba on a land-purchasing expedition. Thus the *Minneapolis Tribune* of May 21 devoted considerable space to the foreign party and seemed much impressed by the fact

<sup>8</sup> Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Notebook*, 163, 164, 165 (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1935).

that the duke had engaged almost a whole floor at the Metropolitan Hotel; Mark Twain's registration in the same hostelry was apparently overlooked. One lone reporter penetrated the meaning of the signature "S. L. Clemens, Hartford" and under the caption "Mark Twain—Not Misrepresented" wrote a short account of his meeting with the humorist.

All along his present Mississippi river tour, Clemens has refused to be interviewed by newspaper men, on the ground that he has been misrepresented so many times, and that newspaper men in general were chronic fabricators. The reporter found the gentleman in bed at a late hour last evening, but discovered that the gentleman is of medium height, with full face, heavy moustache and hair tinged with gray; drawling in speech, but entertaining to the highest degree. No questions were asked, but voluntarily Mr. Clemens gave the desired information.

An explanation of his motives for undertaking the long journey followed. Questioned about St. Paul, Twain had "nothing to say, as he had seen but little of the city, but he is disgusted with yesterday's climate, and will leave to-day for his home in the East."<sup>7</sup> Apparently even fifty years ago the vagaries of Minnesota weather annoyed strangers!

The result of this journey in the spring of 1882 was *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), a book in which were reprinted with some alteration the chapters that had already appeared in the *Atlantic* supplemented by an account of the more recent voyage. Every reader of Mark Twain is aware of the difference between the two halves of the book, the one transfigured by memory, the other factual and specific. As Bernard De Voto well said, "Eight years elapsed between the writing of the two parts and in the second he could not recapture the glamour of the first, which is romance."<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, despite his brief visit to the upper river, the humorist recorded some interesting opinions of Minnesota.

<sup>7</sup> *St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press*, May 22, 1882.

<sup>8</sup> Bernard De Voto, *Mark Twain's America*, 107 (Chautauqua, New York, 1933).



His first impression was unfavorable, particularly since he had left New Orleans ten days before in the midst of roses and magnolias, only to find the northern river valley ornamented with snow. "In New Orleans we had caught an occasional withering breath from over a crater, apparently; here in St. Paul we caught a frequent benumbing one from over a glacier, apparently." One infers that Twain, Missouri-born and Missouri-bred, preferred the crater.

St. Paul he held to be "a wonderful town."

It is put together in solid blocks of honest brick and stone, and has the air of intending to stay. Its post-office was established thirty-six years ago; and by and by, when the postmaster received a letter, he carried it to Washington, horseback, to inquire what was to be done with it.

In addition to similar facetious remarks Twain larded his account with statistics — statistics of population, of housing, of finance.

St. Paul's strength lies in her commerce — I mean his commerce. He is a manufacturing city, of course — all the cities of that region are — but he is peculiarly strong in the matter of commerce. Last year his jobbing trade amounted to upwards of \$52,000,000.

The city's schools, libraries, and churches, the new capitol then being constructed to replace the one which had recently burned — all these drew the writer's attention. Also, Twain observed,

There is an unusually fine railway station; so large is it, in fact, that it seemed somewhat overdone, in the matter of size, at first; but at the end of a few months it was perceived that the mistake was distinctly the other way. The error is to be corrected.

He noted that St. Paul was still being made, that building material littered the streets and was being transformed into houses as fast as possible. And then he began to philosophize upon the forces that produced civilization. The pioneer of culture, he said, was not the steamboat, nor the railroad, nor the newspaper, nor even the missionary — but whisky!

\* *Life on the Mississippi*, 583 (Boston, 1883).

The missionary comes after the whiskey—I mean he arrives after the whiskey has arrived; next comes the poor immigrant, with axe and hoe and rifle; next, the trader; next, the miscellaneous rush; next, the gambler, the desperado, the highwayman, and all their kindred in sin of both sexes; and next, the smart chap who has bought up an old grant that covers all the land; this brings the lawyer tribe; the vigilance committee brings the undertaker. All these interests bring the newspaper; the newspaper starts up politics and a railroad; all hands turn to and build a church and a jail,—and behold, civilization is established forever in the land. But whiskey, you see, was the van-leader in this beneficent work. It always is. It was like a foreigner—and excusable in a foreigner—to be ignorant of this great truth, and wander off into astronomy to borrow a symbol. But if he had been conversant with the facts, he would have said,—

Westward the Jug of Empire takes its way.

And so Twain asserted that the arrival of Pierre Parrant, with a jug of civilizing liquid, marked the beginning of a progressive movement the fruition of which is to be found in the capital city of Minnesota.<sup>10</sup>

Of Minneapolis he was similarly observant, pointing out that it was already larger than its neighbor and growing fast, and predicting that the Siamese twins would eventually rival in prestige and numbers the metropolis at the other end of the great waterway, New Orleans. Twain then listed the sawmills, newspapers, schools, and railroads native to Minneapolis and praised the university, then numbering as many as four hundred students, because it was “not confined to enlightening the one sex.”<sup>11</sup> The environs of the Twin Cities also drew the visitor’s eye, and he singled out for terse comment such spots as Fort Snelling, Minnehaha Falls, and White Bear Lake. The book ends with the narration of a legend connected with the last-named place, followed by some remarks on the story characteristic of the humorist.

Mark Twain’s next visit to Minnesota came in 1886 when he chose the Great Lakes route to visit his aged mother,

<sup>10</sup> *Life on the Mississippi*, 584–587. Parrant arrived at Mendota in 1832, and he opened a whisky shop near Fountain Cave in 1838.

<sup>11</sup> *Life on the Mississippi*, 588, 589.

then living with Orion Clemens at Keokuk. Accompanied by his three daughters, Susie, Clara, and Jean,<sup>12</sup> the humorist traveled from Buffalo on the "India," a vessel carrying both passengers and merchandise. He arrived at Duluth on Monday, June 28, stopping at the St. Louis Hotel and again evading prospective interviewers. Indeed, the Duluth press commented on his inaccessibility:

Mark Twain is too old a bird to be caught with chaff, and he managed to avoid all newspaper men yesterday, but we would warn Mr. Clemmens [*sic*] that some enterprising reporter will catch him before he leaves Duluth, even if he has to black his face and sling hash at the Hotel St. Louis for a day.<sup>13</sup>

Apparently no such reporter was found before Twain left the head of the lakes, but upon his arrival in the Twin Cities on June 29 the press had been duly warned and he found further escape impossible. To the Ryan Hotel, where the Clemens family stopped, came emissaries from three Twin City newspapers, each eager to depict the visiting celebrity.

The *St. Paul Daily Globe* published no interview, but instead a rambling account of the humorist and his background. Twain's "lectures and readings for the present are at an end," said the *Globe* for June 30, "either as the whole show or a companion with G. W. Cable of New Orleans. He is now enjoying himself and will not enter the lecture field before next winter." The other local newspapers were more specific. The *Minneapolis Tribune* commented with acerbity on the handwriting of his signature, then described Twain as he lounged around the lobby of the Ryan: "a quiet man of medium height, attired in alligator slippers, a light gray suit, and a pearl colored high hat. In his mouth he had the stem of a corn cob pipe." In reply to questions about his destination Twain said that he had come west partly for the sake of a vacation but chiefly to see his mother, then

<sup>12</sup> So entered on the register of the St. Louis Hotel, according to the *Duluth Tribune* of June 29, 1886.

<sup>13</sup> *Duluth Tribune*, June 29, 1886.

eighty-three, and that he was leaving for Keokuk shortly. The talk then inevitably shifted to his work.

Mr. Clemens said that his intimate acquaintance, "Mark Twain," was now in the publishing business and consequently did not have much time for writing. Still he contemplated building a new book this summer. His contracts to publish other works ran four years ahead, and if issued, his book must be published by some one else. Said he: "I never wrote for the sake of publishing my books. I usually have two or three books on hand in an unfinished state, and I work on the one I am most interested in."<sup>14</sup>

A similar account save for certain discrepancies in detail appeared in the *Pioneer Press* for June 30. "White plug hat, gray, bushy hair, gray moustache, gray suit of clothes and an Arkansas corn cob pipe in his mouth, from which came wreathing curls of smoke"—thus was Mark Twain pictured. The account of the ensuing dialogue between Twain and his interviewer savors a little of the humorist's own writing:

Glad to meet you (puff). I and my family are on their way to Keokuk (puff), Iowa, to visit my mother, and we have chosen the lake route as the most pleasant by which to reach there, (Puff.) The benefit of coming by the lakes was that I got no news. I was (puff) five days in the heart of the United States, and did not see a newspaper. It was refreshing. That's what people take sea (puff) voyages for. To get away from the news; and when the New York Herald (puff) proposed to establish ocean life and news bureaus a thrill (puff) of horror went through the minds of many people, because the (puff) news would then go with them on their voyage.

Commenting on modern journalism, Twain remarked that "the metropolitan journalism of my day is the village journalism of to-day." The *Pioneer Press* account ended with the statement that the Clemens family had spent the preceding day driving around the city and out to Minnehaha Falls and that they were to depart on the "War Eagle" for Keokuk.

<sup>14</sup> *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 30, 1886. Twain at this time was interested in the Charles L. Webster and Company publishing firm and in the Paige typesetting machine. The Webster house had just issued General Grant's memoirs, which proved an extremely profitable venture.

Thus ended the second of Mark Twain's visits to the upper river. Despite the numerous packet ships that plied the great waterway in the eighties, traffic on the Mississippi was a far cry from what it had been in its heyday before the Civil War and the era of the railroads. Twain saw a declining medium of trade and a waning of interest in the river per se, but he was obviously impressed by the beauties of the valley, in many ways so different from the broad reaches farther south. Moreover, he envisaged a day when the Twin Cities and New Orleans would be the two termini of a great internal artery; and, if he never mastered the bars and snags north of St. Louis as well as those below the mouth of the Missouri, he at least became familiar with a river system that stretched full two thousand miles, at once dividing and uniting a continent.

Albert Bigelow Paine, Twain's official biographer, recounts an amusing anecdote of his trip from St. Paul to Keokuk. As the "War Eagle" steamed slowly down the Mississippi in the evening of that first day of July, 1886, it encountered a shoal crossing. Soon the leadsman, in reply to the booming of the forward bell, began to chant out the depth. As the water grew shallower the measurement came closer to the famous pseudonym of the vessel's most distinguished passenger. Suddenly the exact figure was reached and the cry "Mark twain" reverberated through the gloom. As the humorist stood on the hurricane deck, no doubt steeped in recollections of a long distant past, the figure of his small daughter Clara emerged from the shadows and called out reprovingly: "Papa, I have hunted all over the boat for you. Don't you know they are calling for you?"<sup>15</sup>

Mark Twain's first two visits to Minnesota were made chiefly as a traveler interested in new country and as a vacationist. But when he saw the upper Mississippi for the last time, in the summer of 1895, he came in the capacity of a

<sup>15</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, 3:845.

public lecturer. A great change had taken place in his personal fortunes in the intervening years. The Webster publishing firm, in which he had invested his own money together with sixty thousand dollars furnished by his wife, had failed in April, 1894, with liabilities of two hundred thousand dollars; and the typesetting machine, which he had backed with all the promoting fervor of a Colonel Sellers, had proved to be far too complicated for daily use.<sup>16</sup> In addition, his health was shaken, and he had become perceptibly grayer. Nevertheless, like Sir Walter Scott over a half century before him, he resolved to shoulder the burdens of the bankrupt company as if they were his own. Twice before, in 1872 and in 1884, when in severe financial straits he had resorted to the lecture platform and had profited handsomely. And so once again he resolved to appear before the public as an entertainer and in this manner liquidate his obligations. He had always had an aversion to the formal lecture; he chose instead to give a series of readings from his own works, relying no doubt on his delivery and his infectious drawl as much as on the material for his effect.<sup>17</sup> In the spring of 1895, consequently, he arranged with Major J. B. Pond for an extensive lecture tour, one which was to take him not merely across the United States but around the world as well. It was in the course of this tour that he appeared before audiences in Duluth, Minneapolis, and St. Paul.

Once more Twain chose the Great Lakes route westward, embarking at Cleveland on the steamer "North West." He reached Duluth late on Monday, July 22, so late indeed that his audience in the First Methodist Church was kept waiting over an hour. The Duluth papers had printed various comments in anticipation of his coming, largely quotations from eastern journals relative to his platform behavior and to his readings. Proclaiming Mark Twain as "prob-

<sup>16</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, 3: 969, 984.

<sup>17</sup> Paine, *Mark Twain*, 2: 783.

ably the greatest of all American humorists," the *Duluth Evening Herald* for July 20 declared:

Few men have ever written whose humor has so many sides, such breadth or reach. His passages provoke the joyous laughter of young and old, of learned and unlearned, and may be read or heard the hundredth time without losing, but rather multiplying in power. Sentences and phrases that seem at first only made for the heartiest laughter yield, at closer view, a sanity and wisdom that is good for the soul. He is, too, a wonderful story-teller, and many will bear testimony that the very humor which has made him known around the world is sometimes swept along like the debris of a freshet by the current of his fascinating narrative. As a reader and speaker Mr. Clemens is utterly outside and beyond the reach of all conventional rule. But coming from his own lips his lines gather and convey innumerable new and charming significances.

The *News Tribune* for July 21 described Twain's entrance upon the stage.

The look upon his own features suggests that he has mislaid his eyeglasses and returned to look for them. Finding a number of persons present, he stops and has a long talk with them, during which they are the most willing listeners in the world. To describe his voice is next to impossible. It is a thoroughly down East nasal tone. There is not a sentence but what conceals a mirth provoker of some kind that jumps out at the most unexpected time and place.

Later Twain's awkwardness of gait, his homely language, and his peculiar drawl were remarked, as well as his facial inflexibility while recounting his inimitable stories. In an advertisement for his Duluth reading, his performance was captioned "Ninety Minutes Chat and Character Sketches." Prices ranged from a dollar to seventy-five and fifty cents a seat.<sup>18</sup>

As the Clemens party, including Mrs. Clemens, Clara Clemens, and Major and Mrs. Pond, reached the Duluth wharf, they spied Deacon R. R. Briggs feverishly awaiting their arrival. Hurrying them off the boat, he bundled them into a hackney coach and drove as fast as possible to the First Methodist Church. There the Reverend J. M. Thoburn escorted Twain to the platform, and the humorist al-

<sup>18</sup> *News Tribune* (Duluth), July 22, 1895.

luded to his delay in the briefest of introductions. "It looked for a time," said he, "as if I would be a few minutes late." The various selections followed without intermission, the story of the jumping frog, his boyhood visit to the office of his father late one night only to be horrified by the presence of a corpse on the floor, and several more anecdotes.<sup>19</sup>

The *Herald* described Twain as "a man of medium height and size with a rather calm and serene looking countenance. He wears an iron grey moustache and a bushy head of decidedly grey hair that makes one believe Twain is trying to rival Paderewski." The lecturer's drawl was also conspicuous. As to the effect of the entertainment, the *Herald* was skeptical. Perhaps, the account intimated, the anticipation had been too great.

The people started in to laugh at once as though they were there for that purpose and thought they ought to. After he had narrated a couple of his yarns, however, they subsided somewhat, and only occasionally broke out again. Twain did not seem to be able to get the audience under his control although he had the opportunity to do it very easily at the beginning.

The ease and informality of Twain's style were readily apparent, but not all his stories impressed one as being really funny. Some fell rather flat.<sup>20</sup>

Almost immediately after his Duluth lecture Mark Twain took the night train for Minneapolis, arriving there Tuesday morning, July 23, and stopping at the West Hotel. He was flooded with offers of entertainment and sight-seeing from loyal Minneapolitans who wished to do their share in feting their famous visitor, but he declined all on the score of ill health. Indeed he spent the time before his evening lecture in bed. The *Minneapolis Tribune* announced Twain's coming with a great flourish and predicted a splendid audience for "the most celebrated and widely known literateur that has ever visited this city in many years." But

<sup>19</sup> *News Tribune*, July 23, 1895.

<sup>20</sup> *Duluth Evening Herald*, July 23, 1895.



to a *Journal* reporter who visited Twain at his room and found him suffering from a carbuncle on his leg, the distinguished visitor did not seem very brilliant.

To the casual observer, as he lay there, running his fingers through his long, curly locks, now almost gray, he was anything but a humorist. On the contrary, he appeared to be a gentleman of great gravity, a statesman or a man of vast business interests. The dark blue eyes are as clear as crystal and the keenest of glances shoots from them whenever he speaks.

To his interviewer Twain spoke about his travels and about his plan to visit the Sandwich Islands, Australia, and Europe before returning to Hartford to spend the balance of his life in peace and quiet. Asked whether his daughter Clara was the one who had claimed she had never read her father's works, Twain smiled:

All my daughters ought to be pretty familiar with my works, seeing that they have edited my manuscript since they were 7 years old. They always sided with me whenever Mrs. Clemens thought that I had used some sentence or word that was a little too strong. But we never stood on that, because Madame was always in the majority, anyway.<sup>21</sup>

A large audience greeted the humorist at the Metropolitan Opera House the same evening, "one of the most brilliant audiences that ever crowded into the Metropolitan and sweltered in the heat of midsummer." Twain began with a short talk on moral courage, illustrating it with the account of his boyhood experience in Hannibal. The jumping frog story and excerpts from *Huckleberry Finn* followed in sequence. According to the *Journal*, the program excited no boisterous merriment but rather a quiet mirth which was often permeated by a rather unorthodox moral. Yet the audience was greatly pleased and felt that the ninety-minute program was too brief. As an encore Twain gave the "Whistling Story" and remained standing and bowing on the rostrum as the people filed out. Following the reading

<sup>21</sup> *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 23, 1895; *Minneapolis Journal*, July 23, 1895.

Twain was the guest of the Minneapolis Press Club and the Commercial Club at the quarters of the latter in the Kasota Block, where he was welcomed by Mayor Robert Pratt and other dignitaries and introduced to a score of the curious. The attendance at the reception was less than had been expected because of a misunderstanding of its semiprivate nature, but one can infer that the guest of honor, in anything but robust health, did not feel slighted. After refreshments had been served, the entertainment broke up and Twain was escorted back to his hotel.<sup>22</sup>

His final platform appearance in Minnesota was made at the People's Church in St. Paul, Wednesday evening, July 24. A reporter from the *St. Paul Dispatch*, finding him at the Ryan Hotel, questioned him about his lecture tour and observed that he was in need of rest and quiet.

His health is not what it once was, and his luck has not been of the best; but even these would be bearable were it not for the carbuncle that insists upon being his *compagnon de voyage*. A man does not fully realize what trouble is until he has entertained a carbuncle or a boil, and at present Mark is having a good deal of experience. Nevertheless, he is in trim to amuse and he is able to do it as few men can.

The *Pioneer Press*, too, praised the lecturer and announced his reading in enthusiastic tones. "An American author of universal fame should draw an American audience, even in summer, with his stories of American life."<sup>23</sup>

The program Wednesday evening included the familiar selections and found a large audience responsive. But the newspaper reports emphasized Twain's changed appearance and analyzed his humor. According to the *Pioneer Press* he seemed visibly older and rather less animated; yet his delivery had lost neither charm nor effect. The account of

<sup>22</sup> *Tribune*, July 24, 1895; *Journal*, July 24, 1895.

<sup>23</sup> *St. Paul Dispatch*, July 24, 1895; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, July 24, 1895. In the issue of July 23, the *Pioneer Press* announced Twain's appearance and urged its readers to benefit by getting a little of the "philosophy of laughter." Moreover, it said, "Mr. Clemens will teach many new lessons and his musical Yankee drawl will put in fun where printer's ink has failed to make it appear."

his reading concluded with a shrewd discussion of his material.

Twain has never been classed so much with the wits as with the humorists. His function has been rather to say amusing things and put things in grotesque and telling ways than to be brilliant. One seldom finds him brilliant, and one never finds him dull.<sup>24</sup>

In other words, Twain's humor consisted of sudden changes from the commonplace to the ridiculous and of discrepancies of circumstance. Swift, revealing thrusts and the surprise ending so dear to O. Henry brought about his effects.

The Clemens itinerary, after the St. Paul program, included a side trip to Winnipeg and stops at Helena and Butte. On the Pacific coast Major and Mrs. Pond left the party, and Mark Twain, with his wife and daughter Clara, set out on the long trip to the Orient which was to occupy nearly a year. Minnesota never saw him again.

Minnesotans who heard Mark Twain in 1895 must have realized that their entertainer was a tired and ailing man. Harassed by financial pressure and physically weak, he obviously was in no condition to appear at his best on the rostrum. Yet there were few disgruntled murmurs from his auditors. People in general realized his plight and admired the courage which drove him back to the public platform in an effort to recoup his fortunes. Moreover, they liked the man himself and appreciated the pleasure which his books had given to multitudes. Twain, of course, was sincere in his effort to entertain and no doubt endured stoically a great many burdens under which a lesser man would have quailed. But curiously enough he never changed his program throughout his American tour, rarely even altered the sequence in which the selections were given. Instead of novelty he relied on the effects of delivery, of manner and tone.<sup>25</sup> And despite the fact that his material was ex-

<sup>24</sup> *Pioneer Press*, July 25, 1895.

<sup>25</sup> *Dispatch*, July 24, 1895. In the issue for July 20, Twain's complete program appears: "My First Theft," "The Jumping Frog," "Character

tremely familiar his readings were unqualified successes. One concludes, too, that many of the patrons, partly because of Twain's reputation and partly because of the advance advertising, came to laugh at the witticisms of the speaker whether they were really funny or not. A humorist, his fame once established, will seem amusing even when he is talking seriously. Twain's delivery, furthermore, was well calculated to appeal to his audiences, who delighted in the twinkling eye, the slow, pleasing drawl, and the simple language of this Yankee from Missouri. At any rate the lecture trip was highly profitable and gratified the impresario, Major Pond, as much as it satisfied the auditors.

Thus Mark Twain visited Minnesota and the upper river three times, twice as a traveler and once as a platform entertainer. His sojourns on each occasion were brief and probably, in perspective, not especially important. Nevertheless they merit more than the reticence or the casual allusions which are their portion in all the Clemens biographies. For they afford additional evidence of his humor, his alertness, his geniality and shrewdness, and they prove that he formed at least a partial acquaintanceship with the whole of that great river, a large section of which he learned to know in detail through Horace Bixby several years before the Civil War. Wherever Mark Twain went he made friends, and the above evidence suggests that Minnesota was not backward in welcoming one of the most magnetic men who ever trod the public rostrum.

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of the Bluejay," "A Fancy Dress Incident," "Bit Off More than He Could Chaw," and "Tom Sawyer's Crusade." A writer in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of July 24 considered the humorist's alteration of the order of his selections a change of major importance. Twain himself planned to make no change until he reached Australia.

## SOME SOURCES FOR ST. CROIX VALLEY HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

Any discussion of historical sources for a region in this country must give an important place to newspapers. As long ago as 1849 Governor Ramsey, urging Minnesota to preserve its newspapers, called them "daybooks" of history. An American scholar, Professor E. E. Robinson, recently referred to newspapers as "the revealing diary of a great people." Speaking of the California papers of the fifties, he said that their news stories, editorials, advertisements, general comment, and local items furnish a picture that "glitters with a realism that even the lapse of eighty years does not dim."<sup>2</sup> That is true also of the early papers of the St. Croix Valley, perhaps especially if one thinks of such things as the social and economic life, customs, cultural activities, and the hopes and rivalries of communities. As in the case of the California newspapers, the record is the more valuable because it is largely informal and unconscious, not an avowed effort to draw a picture of the times.

The newspaper editor was a pioneer of culture, and the dates of the founding of papers are clues to the emergence of genuine communities from the straggling clusters of earlier settlement. Thus the *St. Croix Inquirer* began publication at Hudson in 1850 and the *St. Croix Union* at Stillwater in 1854; the *Prescott Journal* made its bow in 1857; Taylor's Falls and St. Croix Falls got newspapers of their own in 1860; and Osceola Mills had one in 1861. If the

<sup>1</sup> A paper read on June 27, 1936, at the Stillwater session of the fourteenth state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. The writer is indebted to Mr. Lewis Beeson and Mrs. Robert Beveridge for aid in assembling illustrative material.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Robinson's address, "In Praise of Newspapers," was delivered at a session of the American Historical Association in Chattanooga in 1935.

dates tell a story, so also do the names, as is evidenced, for example, in the newspapers of Stillwater. The first paper, the *Union*, took the position that the Democrats were the party of union, that they only had succeeded in "harmonizing with the wishes of the people." The name of the next paper, the *Messenger*, emphasizes news itself, but that of the *Stillwater Democrat* of 1859 again reminds one that Stillwater was a Democratic stronghold in pioneer times. The *Democrat* expired, however, in the year that marked the opening of the Civil War; and when a new name appeared, after the Civil War, it was the *Stillwater Republican*. This in turn was followed by the *Stillwater Gazette*, which was launched in 1870 and has continued to the present day. Five years later the *Stillwater Lumberman* testified to the importance of the great industry of the valley. The *Prison Mirror*, beginning in 1887, records the presence of the great penal institution of the state. And in 1891 the influx of German-speaking settlers was reflected in the journal known as *Hermanns Sohn im Westen*. So the names of Stillwater newspapers suggest in some measure the panorama of Stillwater history.

But dates and names will not open the mines of historical ore represented by the papers. The only way to do that is to dig into the files. In doing so, one quickly discovers that the pioneer newspaper editors were boosters, optimists, eager to attract immigrants, to convince the East of the advantages and possibilities of Minnesota, and to build up their communities, and they referred to their rivals with no friendly voice. Even before announcing its politics, the *Stillwater Union* extolled Stillwater, its location, advantages, and enterprise. In an early issue it predicted that the valley would become a center of attraction for all classes and professions from all parts of the country; its back country was fertile and easy of access and the iron horse was coming. As to climate, it told of a Baltimore gentleman with a pulmonary complaint that threatened his life who was com-

pletely cured by the bracing winter atmosphere of the St. Croix Valley. Well for him, said the *Union*, that he chose Minnesota instead of the enervating climate of Florida. It sounded a more critical note, however, when it looked at rival cities. St. Paul's growth, it thought, was too rapid to be honest. It charged that St. Paul deliberately delayed all mail destined for Stillwater, and on certain other matters it cast aspersions in the direction of the capital city. The *Union* declared that St. Paul was almost entirely dependent upon Stillwater for lumber, however. "So it seems something good can come out of Nazareth," wrote the *Union*. "But the St. Paul papers won't acknowledge it. They would infinitely prefer to have their eye teeth pulled." A slightly less genial note was sounded in a paper of Osceola Mills, Wisconsin, when it paid its respects to the neighboring village of Sunrise, Minnesota. It urged that the name be changed to Sunset and added the following comment: "The village is about ten years old, is not of rapid growth, nor fortunate in its settlers. When one neighbor gets mad with another, the custom has been to set his house on fire, kill his hogs and chickens, poison his dogs and cats or pull down his fence and let another neighbor's cattle destroy his crops; but we are happy to note the advent of better things." In a more charitable, if somewhat condescending, mood, a Stillwater citizen conceded that he had "on the whole formed a very favorable opinion" of Hudson. "It appears to contain," he went on, "a very intelligent, industrious, and enterprising population, whose principal aim appears to be, to make Hudson, *the* town of the St. Croix valley; and with the exception of Stillwater, they will doubtless succeed."

Alongside such commentaries are jubilant reports about the products of the soil. "The past season, enough wheat was raised in Minnesota to bread the population, but not having mills to grind it, our farmers have been obliged to send their grain to foreign markets," wrote the *Union* in

1854. Game was plentiful, and in 1855 in Stillwater venison sold at eight and ten cents a pound, prairie chickens, ducks, and pheasants, from fifteen to twenty-five cents apiece, and occasionally bear meat was on the market. If you didn't want to buy your game at the market, you might respond to the advertisement of Peter F. Bouchea of Willow River, who in 1850 in the *St. Croix Inquirer* advertised his services as a guide:

Come on then, ye sportsmen, with high boots, rifle and blanket, and I will shortly conduct you to the forests where my forefathers, as they chased the swift elk and the huge black bear, would proudly exclaim,

No pent-up willow huts contain our powers,  
But the unbounded wilderness is ours.

It has already been noted that Stillwater achieved its first newspaper in 1854. That year also witnessed the establishment of a lyceum and an academy and so it must have marked a new stage of advance in the cultural history of the community. Both the lyceum and the academy are well reported in the local newspapers. Thus we learn that four debaters opened the career of the lyceum with a discussion of the question "Resolved that the ultimate success of the Know Nothing party will endanger the moral, social, and political institutions of the United States." Soon thereafter a speaker from St. Croix Falls discoursed on "Young America" and his address was printed in full in the *Union*. Every town in the valley desired an academy of learning, and the first issue of the *Union* in 1854 announced the opening of Washington Seminary at Stillwater, with the Reverend J. S. Webber as principal, and with a course of studies including English, languages, geography, algebra, intellectual philosophy, and music. At the dedication in November an address was delivered on the subject of "The Pedagogue versus the Demagogue." Commenting on the dedication the *Union* remarked, "It is seldom we meet with so intelligent and refined an audience even in our eastern cities



as met on this occasion." Fourteen years later, when the cornerstone of the St. Croix Valley Academy was laid at Afton, the Masonic lodges of Stillwater, Lakeland, Cottage Grove, Hudson, and Osceola had charge of the ceremony, excursion boats brought several hundred persons to Afton, the Comet Band of Stillwater played, there was a parade, and an elaborate program followed. The pioneer academies were a phase of town promotion, but they also represented a genuine desire for education in the era before the public high school. Their beginnings, aims, and progress are reflected in the pioneer newspapers, and it is rather difficult to find much information about them elsewhere.

Many other illustrations can be drawn from the early St. Croix Valley newspapers to show their value to the historians of this region. The advertisements afford a gauge of the professions, trades, and business of the towns; they enable one to enter the stores and price such items as shawls, cambrics, bonnets, red and blue flannel shirts, and the like; they tell of competing business houses in other towns, including such distant places as Prairie du Chien, Galena, and St. Louis; they emphasize in many ways the importance of the river in the life of the valley; and they reveal the progress of land sales and of building. The French department of the *St. Croix Inquirer*, with news in French from Three Rivers, Montreal, and other places, reminds one that the valley had a considerable French-Canadian element. The papers as a whole, with their poetry, love stories, essays, and articles clipped from eastern newspapers, are repositories of pioneer reading—frontier magazines as well as newspapers. Casual items tell of pioneer amusements from horse racing to ventriloquy, and from gambling to music. The president of the Turf Fisher Course of Stillwater, announcing a match in 1854 between the "celebrated Birmingham" and the "well known Cannon Ball," characterized the racing rendezvous as the "Long Island of Minnesota." The sedate pages of the papers are often spiced with frontier wit and infor-

mality. The local tax collector in Stillwater did not stand on ceremony when he wrote in 1854: "Fellow citizens! New Year's is coming and so are the County Commissioners. Please pay your taxes and oblige your humble servant." The next year he employed verse in his appeal to the people:

Taxes, taxes, taxes  
Oh my delinquent friends, do pay your taxes.  
Now eighteen fifty four is o'er,  
The county fathers growl,  
While they for Taxes, Taxes roar,  
Poor I for taxes howl.

Naturally the valley newspapers reflect the dominant industry of the region. The *St. Croix Union* believed the pineries inexhaustible, but even as early as 1855 it urged lumbermen to permit a vigorous second growth through sparing the young trees. Now and then one gets swiftly etched pictures of the lumber business from the Stillwater point of view. Here is an item from the *Union* for November 3, 1854:

A large number of our lumbermen, who reside in our city during the summer, have gone up the river to the woods. Active preparations have been made during the fall to fit out this vast army of workers. Work cattle have been in demand for some time. Wagons have been shipped to this point in great numbers. Provisions have come to us by boat loads, and [have been] reshipped to . . . the pineries. Long trains are on the way, and are still going, and have continued so for over a month, and will continue until winter sets in.

Scholars must use newspaper sources with due caution, alert for inaccuracies, bias, and inadequacy, but the fact remains that for the story of manners and customs in the broad sense, for the history of a community, for the reconstruction of the manifest activities of a society, they are invaluable. The illustrations here given are little more than hints of what the early press has to tell of the people and towns and industries that flourished in the St. Croix Valley during the foundation period of the state.

Newspapers are not enough, however. The truth is that

the materials for history are about as varied as are human interests themselves. So we are obliged to cast a wide net in collecting historical documents—we must put a broad interpretation upon that phrase “historical documents.” Laws and political platforms, the proceedings of conventions, the archives of government, the addresses of leaders are of course important; but a letter telling of a pioneer’s experience is as genuine a document of history as a state paper. The diary of a farmer or of a businessman or of a minister or of a housewife is as genuine a document of history as a treaty. So the job of our state and local historical societies is to find, to forward the care of, and to use not only newspapers and public records, but also letters, diaries, reminiscences, notes of interviews, account books, business papers, the archives of churches<sup>3</sup> and of special organizations, even pictures, pamphlets, and handbills, not to mention museum objects—in a word, all kinds of records and remains that can help us to portray the life of the people. Here is a big job! The state historical society has done much to advance it these many years, but I am glad that today there are nearly a half hundred local societies that are joining hands with us in the task.

It is possible only to allude to some of the rich treasures of manuscript sources for St. Croix Valley history that are preserved, either as originals or as transcripts, in the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. The diary of Jedediah Stevens, the first Protestant missionary among the Chippewa of eastern Minnesota, has its setting in the St. Croix Valley in 1829 and 1830, when the missionary visited at the trading post of Daniel Dingley. In this diary is what is probably the first account of any literary merit of the Dalles of the St. Croix. Another unpublished diary of in-

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that the First Presbyterian Church of Stillwater has records that go back to 1849 and that St. Mary’s Catholic Church of the same city has records that run from 1865 to the present. This information is derived from a recent WPA inventory of church records in Stillwater.

terest is that of Dr. Douglas Houghton, the physician who accompanied the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832. Its regional interest arises from the fact that Dr. Houghton made his way out of the Northwest by way of the St. Croix. It records the journey, with vivid detail about the canoe expedition, the natural life of the region, Indian villages, and the fur trade. On the Snake River he found a camp of Chippewa Indians and stopped long enough to vaccinate sixty-three of them. In the Levi Stratton Papers is an interesting letter in which Stratton, a New Englander who took a claim at the site of Marine, tells of his journey up the St. Croix in 1838. He was one of a company of thirty-five men who went up to the St. Croix to build a sawmill. The "Palmyra the Boat that I went on," he wrote, "was the first Boat that entered the river we surprized the natives as we passed them on the river with their birch Canoes."

Unusual are the St. Croix records left by the artist Henry Lewis, who visited this valley twice in the late forties. A delightful chapter on this region was included in his book *Das illustrierte Mississippthal*, published at Düsseldorf in the fifties. There he describes the beauties of the valley, telling of its fertility, and incidentally commenting on the excellent fishing in some of the lakes of the region. Lewis himself felt moved to scold his guide one day, when the latter caught 185 pike, trout, and other fish in two hours and then threw away all but the best and the largest. A fine painting by Lewis of Cheever's Mill on the St. Croix is owned by the Minnesota Historical Society, but his paintings of Stillwater and Point Douglass seem to have been lost. Only a short time ago a manuscript journal kept by Lewis in 1848 was found in Canada.<sup>4</sup>

Tucked away among the Sibley Papers are two Stillwater documents of basic political significance for Minnesota: the

<sup>4</sup> Publication of this journal, edited by Bertha L. Heilbron, was begun in MINNESOTA HISTORY for June, 1936, and is completed in the present issue.

proceedings of the famous Stillwater convention of 1848, which set in motion the political forces that led to the creation of Minnesota Territory, and the memorial that the delegates addressed to President Polk. With the latter are the original sixty-one signatures, including eighteen Stillwater names, among them Morton Wilkinson, H. L. Moss, C. Carli, and Socrates Nelson. One of the most interesting historical documents for this region is the original of the federal census of 1850 for Minnesota, which lists the 1,056 residents of Washington County, giving their origins, occupations, and other information. This is matched by a similar record for 1860, when the county had advanced to a population of 6,043. In these two records we have a kind of Domesday survey of Minnesota.

As we move into the fifties the manuscript sources become more numerous. There are, for example, the letters of Richard Hall, pastor of a congregation at Point Douglass and a missionary preacher in the St. Croix area, written to the American Home Missionary Society. Just after he reached Point Douglass in 1850, Hall called attention to the fact that "On the Wis. side the people are from N. Y. Ohio and northern Ill. On the Minn. side the people are mostly from Maine." In another letter, written in 1852, he tells of plans for a town hall in Cottage Grove. "The design [is] to have it for public meetings of all kinds & not under the executive control of any religious society."<sup>5</sup>

By a coincidence the Minnesota Historical Society has the account book of one of the first blacksmiths of Taylor's Falls, A. C. Sevey, and also a group of letters written by a man who worked for him, both records going back to 1851. Beginning with 1853, a remarkable diary kept at Lakeland by Mitchell Young Jackson, a Hoosier, gives a detailed and valuable picture of the building of a farm in frontier

<sup>5</sup> Film slides have been made for the Minnesota Historical Society of Hall's original letters, which are preserved in the library of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

days.<sup>6</sup> Ignatius Donnelly's diary starts with 1857, the year of his first visit to Minnesota, and describes the towns of Hastings, Prescott, Point Douglass, and Stillwater. The latter, he wrote, "is a closely built small place—white houses neatly built & painted . . . it has but little level ground"; and he speaks of "the lumber men—day after pay day—red shirts like sailors—all drunk—fine looking set of men." The manuscript records of the Taylor's Falls Lyceum for 1859 and 1860 supplement very neatly the newspaper accounts of such organizations. This lyceum met weekly. We find it dealing with community problems, hopefully resolving that the "present crisis" in the financial world would prove a benefit to Minnesota, urging the United States to purchase Cuba and Nicaragua, and debating the wisdom of making voting obligatory upon citizens. The correspondence in the early sixties of George S. Biscoe, a young Congregational minister, gives a vivid picture of the Cottage Grove settlement, one of the most interesting farming communities in the state. Sometimes the minister complained of stagnation. Biscoe wrote that, although he understood the United States was at war, "We have heard no cannon, seen no soldiers, and the rain pours down as steadily as if it were a time of universal peace." When he became chaplain of the House of Representatives in St. Paul in 1862, he went to the capital city, but was unhappy there. Its prevalent vices, he found, were smoking, drinking, and cards. "This is a godless city," he wrote. "There are many churches but few active Christians." The next year he led a valiant effort to secure the location at Cottage Grove of a proposed Congregational college, but his village ran second to Northfield. A few additional thousands of dollars in pledges, he believed, would have resulted in the

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Solon J. Buck has published portions of this material under the title of "Making a Farm on the Frontier: Extracts from the Diaries of Mitchell Young Jackson," in *Agricultural History*, 3:92-120 (July, 1930).

placing of Carleton College at Cottage Grove, rather than at Northfield.<sup>7</sup>

Today there is a widespread interest in state and community history. The Minnesota Historical Society and the many county and municipal historical societies are cultivating the field, trying to stir interest and to promote historical appreciation and understanding. I believe that they deserve encouragement, support, and co-operation. As a practical step I call upon Minnesotans to join hands in making a statewide attic inventory and in helping these organizations to enrich their collections of records.

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<sup>7</sup> The Biscoe correspondence was used by Phyllis Sweeley in writing an excellent paper entitled "A Glimpse of Minnesota's Past: Life in the Eighteen-Sixties Seen through the Eyes of a Pastor," which appears in the *Hamline Piper*, 15:17-23 (May, 1935).

## SIDELIGHTS ON THE HISTORY OF THE SWEDES IN THE ST. CROIX VALLEY<sup>1</sup>

In a letter written to the editor of a Swedish newspaper published in Illinois, in 1859, a Swedish Lutheran pastor who had resided in Minnesota for four years prophesied that no other state in the Union would become so thickly populated with Swedes and their descendants as Minnesota. He extended a cordial invitation to his countrymen in Illinois to move themselves and their belongings to the North Star State; and he offered the following inducements: first, a climate like that of Sweden and the most healthful in the United States; second, an abundance of good land; third, the opportunity for the Swedes to concentrate in a single state, thus enabling them to preserve their own language and to establish and maintain their own churches and schools.<sup>2</sup>

In 1854, 1855, and 1857 another Swedish Lutheran clergyman—Eric Norelius, who spent the greater part of his long and useful life in Minnesota—visited the St. Croix Valley, and he recorded his experiences and observations in letters to newspapers, in his diary, and in his historical writings. On his first visit, in 1854, he traveled up the Mississippi River from Rock Island to St. Paul, where he arrived on a Sunday afternoon in May. At the boat landing he talked with a number of Swedish immigrants. They told him that they were expecting another Swedish Lutheran clergyman, Erland Carlsson of Chicago, who at the time was on a preaching tour in the St. Croix Valley. On the following afternoon Norelius left for Stillwater. He found this thriving town alive with lumberjacks wearing flaming

<sup>1</sup> This article embodies the substance of an address presented on June 27, 1936, at the Marine session of the fourteenth state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> P. A. Cederstam, in *Hemlandet*, April 12, 1859.



red woolen shirts, but no Swedes were to be seen there. In 1854, according to Norelius, the young blades of the St. Croix Valley who wanted to be "in style" wore red woolen shirts, leather belts, and "plug" hats; and they displayed their finery by loitering on the streets of Stillwater and whittling sticks from timber which they had cut and logged down the river.

From Stillwater the young theological student traveled by the mail stage to Taylor's Falls, and thence on foot through nine miles of dense woods to Chisago Lake. If one may judge by certain of his statements, during his sojourn in the valley, which extended from May to September, Norelius was engaged in a standing contest with mosquitoes. He found that it was the exceptional Swedish pioneer who had more than eight acres of land cleared and under cultivation. During the first years of the Chisago Lake settlement the chief article of diet was fish; crude buildings were constructed out of rough logs; and household utensils, furniture, and even shoes were made from the wood that was cut on the claims of the pioneers. The Yankees called their strange neighbors from the Land of the Midnight Sun the "wooden shoe people." The settlers bore the impress of their wild and primitive surroundings and were contentious and hard to handle, as the pastors who ministered to them learned on more than one occasion.

At the first religious service arranged by Norelius, he was confronted by a stately, venerable man, who introduced himself by offering the information that he had functioned as a parish pastor in Sweden, but was at the time in the service of the Methodist church. Courtesy perhaps demanded that the young theological student invite the experienced clergyman to preach the sermon; but, knowing the doctrinal instability of the man, Norelius essayed the task himself. The Methodist was not to be denied, however, and, at the conclusion of Norelius' sermon, he launched out on a discourse as extended as and more varied in content than the sermon

that had just been delivered. The persistent competitor was Carl Petter Agrelius, who in 1848 had emigrated from Pelarne, a parish in the province of Småland, from which many residents of Chisago Lake were recruited. After an abortive effort to organize a Lutheran congregation in New York City, Agrelius steered his course westward. For many years he was a well-known character in the Swedish settlements, where he persistently exhorted his countrymen to hear him expound the gospel; but his harvest was meager, in spite of his unique inducement: "If you want a service cut according to the Methodist pattern, I can accommodate you; if you prefer a Lutheran service, you may have that. I know how to officiate because I was a pastor in Sweden for twenty-six years."

Two weeks after the Agrelius episode, at the conclusion of a service conducted by Norelius, a stranger arose to announce another service in the afternoon. This competitor was Fredrik Olaus Nilsson, who, in 1850, had been banished from Sweden for the offense of having violated the conventicle act by preaching the doctrine of adult baptism. Nilsson, however, very shortly deserted the St. Croix Valley in favor of Houston County, in southeastern Minnesota.

On his second visit to the St. Croix Valley, in 1855, Norelius estimated that there were about two thousand Swedes in Minnesota, of whom thirty lived at Stillwater, three hundred at Marine, and five hundred at Chisago Lake—the latter being the largest Swedish settlement in the territory. After his third visit, in 1857, Norelius wrote that he had found many changes. Practically all government land at Chisago Lake and Marine had been taken, but good land could still be purchased for ten dollars an acre. He estimated the number of Swedes in the St. Croix Valley at fifteen hundred, one thousand of whom were at Chisago Lake and three hundred at Marine.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Letters from Norelius, in *Hemlandet*, December 1, 22, 1855, and in *Minnesota posten*, October 13, 1857; Norelius, "Några hågkomster från

It appears that before 1860 there were three types of Swedish settlements in Minnesota — in the St. Croix Valley, where the pioneers chose timbered land; in Nicollet County, where the log cabins were raised on the prairie; and in Goodhue County, which furnished a combination of wooded land and prairie. Why did the Swedes settle in the St. Croix Valley? Why was the first Swedish settlement in the territory established in 1850 near the present site of Marine? Why did the second settlement, which was founded in 1851, become the nucleus of the largest Swedish settlement in the state? Why did the census of 1920 report that the Swedes in Chisago County constituted eighty-five per cent of the entire foreign-born population and one-fourth of the entire population? Let the Swedes themselves furnish the answers to these questions.

The first witness is the writer of a letter that was published in a Swedish newspaper in Illinois. If a Swede traveled via the St. Paul and Duluth Railroad from St. Paul to North Branch or Wyoming and thence by stage ten or fifteen miles to Chisago Lake, he could easily imagine himself transported to a Swedish province, he wrote. He would find creeks of clear running water, and lakes with sandy shores and romantic bays and islands; and he would have difficulty in resisting the impulse to make the region his abiding place.<sup>4</sup> Three generations after the first Swedes

året 1854" and "Hågkomster från 1855," in *Korsbaneret*, 1888, p. 106-152, 1889, p. 107-155 (Rock Island, Illinois); Emeroy Johnson, translator, *Early Life of Eric Norelius 1833-1862: Journal of a Swedish Immigrant in the Middle West* (Rock Island, 1934); Norelius, *De svenska luterska församlingarnas och svenskarnes historia i Amerika* (Rock Island, 1890); Robert Gronberger, *Svenskarne i St. Croix-dalen, Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 1879); Gronberger, "Historical Account of the Swedish Settlement Marine in Washington County, Minnesota," in Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-books*, 10: 49-87 (St. Paul, 1925); George M. Stephenson, translator and compiler, "Hemlandet Letters," in Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-books*, 8: 56-152 (St. Paul, 1923); Stephenson, *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration* (Minneapolis, 1932).

<sup>4</sup>"Svenska landskap i Amerika," in *Zions Bäner* (Knoxville), July 25, 1879.

invaded the St. Croix Valley, armed with axes and crude agricultural implements, two distinguished scholars from Sweden, carrying the equipment of the geographer and of the student of social problems, visited the same region and found the topography, soil, and flora strongly suggestive of southern Sweden. Chisago County they found to be a "rich and stoneless Småland."<sup>5</sup>

In a long and informing article published in 1867 in a Chicago Swedish newspaper, a resident of Chisago Lake discoursed on the history of the Swedes. According to this writer, the St. Croix River and the pine woods furnished year-round employment, and the lumber camps paid higher prices for the products of the farms than could be obtained by shipping them to St. Paul. Lumberjacks received from thirty to forty dollars a month, including board and lodging; and in the spring loggers were paid from two and a half to three dollars a day, which also included board and lodging. In the first years of the settlement the main crop was potatoes, which together with game and fish furnished the subsistence of the pioneer families.<sup>6</sup>

Most vigorous and positive testimony about the superiority of the St. Croix Valley as a home for land-hungry Swedes is recorded in the files of a newspaper published in Sweden. The writer was A. M. Dahlhjelm, who saw Chisago Lake in the fullness of its primeval beauty and who knew at first hand the inspiration, the dangers, the hardships, and the rewards that came to the men whose footsteps startled the game that had lived unmolested and whose industry aroused the curiosity of the Indians. A letter that he wrote in 1853 was sent to relatives in Sweden in care of Gustaf Unonius, an Episcopal minister in Chicago who went to Chisago Lake in 1852 and who visited his native land in 1853.

<sup>5</sup> Helge Nelson, *Nordamerika: Natur, bygd och svenskbygd*, 356-363 (Stockholm, 1926); G. H. von Koch, *Emigranternas land: Studier i amerikanskt samhällslif*, 325 (Stockholm, 1910).

<sup>6</sup> J. von Kull, "Chisago Lake, Minnesota," in *Svenska Amerikanaren* (Chicago), April 10, 1857.

The letter saw the light of day in print in *Östgötha Correspondenten* of Linköping for July 27 and 30, 1857.

After an ocean voyage of twenty weeks, Dahlhjelm arrived at New Orleans in April, 1851. From the Gulf City he journeyed up the Mississippi to St. Louis, thence to Burlington, Iowa, and from that point up the valley of the Skunk River to the Swedish settlement in Jefferson County, Iowa. Dahlhjelm was one of hundreds of peasants in Östergötland and Småland who made the heroic decision to "find Peter Cassel" — founder of this settlement in 1845 — after having read or heard about Cassel's glowing letters portraying the wonders and fabulous opportunities in Iowa. Dahlhjelm found what many before and after him found, namely, that Cassel had neither the means nor the house to make good the promise in his letters to shelter the immigrants who sought him out. Dahlhjelm and his family were eventually lodged in a house without windows, almost roofless, and with a door that creaked on its insecure hinges. Cats and dogs entered and departed from the house through the generous spaces between the timbers of the walls. Cassel, he said, was in poorer circumstances than anyone in the settlement; and he had been the object of millions of curses from his disillusioned countrymen.

But it was not only Cassel who was castigated by the embittered writer. His pen was even more prolific in recording dissatisfaction with Iowa's climate. Rain was invariably accompanied by such blinding flashes of lightning and deafening peals of thunder that one might think the day of judgment was at hand. After a rain it was impossible to visit neighbors on account of mud and water; the fleet in the Stockholm skerries would have been able to maneuver without difficulty.

In the midst of despair, Dahlhjelm obtained the address of E. U. Nordberg, a resident of Chisago Lake. Nordberg was one of the large number of Eric-Jansonists who had migrated to Illinois to found a New Jerusalem, where they

would be unmolested by the authorities in Sweden, who broke up their conventicles and haled them before the magistrates. Nordberg, however, did not thrive in the regimented Bishop Hill colony, where the word of the prophet Eric Janson was law and gospel, and in 1851 he found his way to Minnesota. From Chisago Lake he preached the gospel of Minnesota through the medium of letters to acquaintances in Illinois, and with some of his epistles he enclosed maps of the Chisago Lake region. Nordberg replied to Dahlhjelm's inquiries about Minnesota's climate and soil, and in November, 1851, the dissatisfied immigrant deserted Iowa and set out on the long journey to his correspondent.

From November to February, Dahlhjelm and his son were occupied in the construction of a house built according to Swedish style, in the meantime living as best they could in a cave. "I thought we would freeze to death before our house was ready," he wrote. Having disposed of this necessary preliminary, the two men set their hands to clearing their land and burning the timber. The week after the anniversary of the ascension of Christ found them ready to put in their crops, which included spring rye and peas brought with them from Sweden and other varieties of grain.

Readers of Dahlhjelm's letter in Sweden were informed about the fabulous draughts of fishes from Chisago Lake, the killing of five deer and innumerable prairie chickens and other kinds of game. Many varieties of wild fruit were mentioned, including cherries, gooseberries, currants, and plums. "One species of berry has a flavor like that of the finest liquor," he wrote. The springs were not long-drawn-out, as in Sweden, and crops were not damaged by early and late frosts. All in all, Dahlhjelm found that Nordberg was a truthful man.

Among the individuals who were instrumental in advertising the St. Croix Valley as a suitable place for immigrants from Sweden were Unonius, Fredrik O. Nilsson, and P. A. Cederstam. Unonius was enthusiastic about Minnesota,

and his duties as pastor in Chicago afforded him the opportunity to recommend Chisago Lake as a suitable place to settle. In letters to Anders Wiberg, the pre-eminent leader among the Swedish Baptists who was stationed in the East, Nilsson stated that he was safe in advising his countrymen to steer their course to Minnesota.<sup>7</sup> Cederstam, who from 1856 to 1858 served as pastor at Chisago Lake, in several letters to *Hemlandet* told of his experiences, as well as of the progress of his countrymen. In 1856 he related proudly that the Swedes had elected their own township officers and could transact official business through the medium of the Swedish language.

Another Swedish newspaper published in Illinois also contributed to the migration of Swedes to the St. Croix Valley. This was *Den swenske republikanen i Norra Amerika*. In the summer of 1857 Svante Cronsioe, the editor and publisher of this paper, made a five-week trip to Minnesota Territory. Upon his return to Illinois he published a series of articles giving information with reference to the location of land, the terms on which it could be purchased, and the progress of settlements. A map of Minnesota was published as a supplement to the paper. In the margin of the map appeared advertisements of railway companies, land companies, and other firms interested in stimulating immigration.

After the termination of the American Civil War, Sweden became a fertile field for the operations of agents of organizations interested in recruiting immigrants. Several newspapers in Sweden were owned or subsidized by these corporations. In order to facilitate the sale of steamship and railway tickets, the agents organized emigration societies. These societies required initiation fees and monthly dues from their members. When sufficient funds had accumulated in the treasury of a society, lots were drawn, and

<sup>7</sup> The manuscript correspondence between Wiberg and Nilsson is in the Bethel Seminary library in Stockholm.

the members fortunate enough to draw the lucky numbers were furnished transportation to America.

A company bearing the formidable name of the Great European-American Emigration Land Company was incorporated in New York in 1868 with a capital stock of "one million dollars in gold." Among the prominent men whose names appeared on the roster of officials of this corporation was Caleb Cushing; and according to the prospectus of the company, it had banking connections with the firm of August Belmont and Company. A network of agencies was spread over Sweden, directed by Count Henning A. Taube, who was also listed as general superintendent of the corporation. Its advertisements offered for sale large tracts of land in Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Texas, Tennessee, and Louisiana, including about twenty thousand acres of land on both sides of the St. Croix River in Chisago County, Minnesota, and Polk County, Wisconsin. Count Taube visited the United States and gave lectures in Sweden to large audiences of farmers and working people.

In 1869 and 1870 this company received considerable unfavorable advertising in the newspapers of Sweden and in the Swedish papers published in the United States in the form of letters from defrauded and dissatisfied immigrants and affidavits presented to the Swedish minister in Washington. Four different parties of immigrants were recruited in Dalarna by agents of the corporation. Some had purchased orders for railway tickets from New York to St. Croix Falls. When the orders were presented at the office of the Great European-American Emigration Land Company in New York, the immigrants were told that since no remittances had arrived, the orders could not be made good. Moreover, it was given out that the agents in Sweden were not authorized to sell orders on the company for railway tickets. The defrauded Swedes appealed in vain to the company and to the Swedish consul at New York.



Another group of prospective immigrants complained that an agent had retained the money remitted by an emigration society and had refused to furnish tickets to members who held lottery tickets entitling them to transportation. Two immigrants belonging to another group wrote to a newspaper in Sweden that when they arrived at New York they were informed that the tickets from New York to St. Croix Falls would not be honored beyond Hastings. Some members of the party obtained employment at Hastings; and those who paid the extra fare to St. Croix Falls learned to their sorrow that the company could not make good the promise to furnish employment and that it could not guarantee title to the land it had advertised for sale. Hundreds of emigrants from many countries of Europe could have related experiences similar to those of the Swedish emigrants who trusted the agents of the Great European-American Emigration Land Company.<sup>8</sup>

The study of the history of the Swedish settlements in the St. Croix Valley would well repay the student of American history. He would study the Swedes as pioneer farmers and as lumberjacks, the establishment of foreign language churches and schools, the clash of religions, and the process of assimilation in a region unusually favorable to the preservation and cultivation of an Old World culture.

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<sup>8</sup> Among the references to this episode, the following may be cited: *Svenska Amerikanaren* (Chicago), September 30, December 23, 1868; *Nya dagligt allehanda* (Stockholm), February 13, 1869; *Helsingborgs tidning*, March 25, 1869; *Jönköpings-bladet*, April 17, 1869; *Norrlands-posten* (Gävle), September 2, 1869; *Hvad nytt* (Eksjö), December 29, 1868, November 4, 1869; *Tidning för falu län och stad* (Falun), November 10, 1869; *Amerika-bladet* (Örebro), November 9, December 21, 1869, February 22, 1870; *Minnesota tidning* (St. Paul), July 14, 21, 1870; E. F. Taube to Wetterstedt, June 2, 1868; Lewenhaupt to Swedish Foreign Office, October 14, 1870. The manuscripts are in "Beskickningen i Washington arkiv," in Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

## FINNISH CHARMS AND FOLK SONGS IN MINNESOTA

Then the aged Väinämöinen  
Spoke aloud his songs of magic,  
And a flower-crowned birch grew upward,  
Crowned with flowers, and leaves all golden,  
And its summit reached to heaven,  
To the very clouds uprising.  
Then he sang his songs of magic,  
And he sang a moon all shining,  
Sang the moon to shine forever  
In the pine-tree's emerald summit  
Sang the Great Bear in its branches.

Thus the magic of the magician hero of the Finnish "Kalevala," the ancient folk poem still read, sometimes chanted, by the Finns of Minnesota. Perhaps because of this folk hero, his harp playing and singing, respect for music and love of it have been traditional with the Finns since their earliest days. This feeling came with them from the old country into the northern Minnesota towns and homesteads and lake country, and, with a suitable setting, it is responsible for the survival of many old songs and customs. Even fragments of the ancient magic songs and poetry may be found, although they are of a more commonplace type than those in the "Kalevala"—usually charms to be used in the household or on the farm, rather than incantations for the sun and moon. In this country, the *loitsu* or magic charm is quite rare, and is remembered without being used, or even believed in, any more. The remarkable thing is to find it surviving at all, in a state all too full of highways, cars, and radios.

Of these bits of magic, survivals of a pre-Christian art, several concern cattle. The most interesting—and, in the Finnish, a very beautiful chant—is used to bring a herd of

cows back to the home farm at night, after it was first let out in the spring to the wild pastures. The *loitsija* (sorcerer or wise woman) fastened a bell to the lead cow's neck, chanting:

Sound, bell, echo, bell,  
Echo from the farthest meadows,  
.....  
You are the largest of the cattle,  
.....  
Bring ye home the herd,  
Clanking to the farmyard,  
Lead it to the evening smudges,  
While yet the sun is shining.

This charm and some others concerning elves both friendly and unfriendly were given to me by an interesting old lady from Oulu in Finland and Chisholm in Minnesota. When I went later to her summer cabin at Crooked Lake for more information about the incantations, she was too busy making fish stew and blueberry pies to answer any questions; but I believe that there is not much more to be found out in this country about the practice of magic and the ritual surrounding it. One must just be grateful that some of the incantations have survived, thanks to the Finnish memory for folk poetry and respect for ancient things. In Winton, on the edge of the Superior National Forest, I learned two useful charms, one to cure hiccups and the other to keep the cold away. In a country where it is often forty below zero, magic to guard against frozen hands seems a very good idea. The charm says:

Cold, thou son of Wind,  
Do not freeze my finger nails,  
Do not freeze my hands.  
Freeze thou the water willows,  
Go chill the birch chunks.

The charm for getting rid of hiccups is even more practical, and was evidently used by the hiccuper rather than by

the *loitsija*. Counting to ten, he wishes the hiccups, in an alliterative jingle, onto a list of objects:

Go to the loom, the bark, the birch  
To the needle, to the thicket, to the spruce . . .

And finally, "Go to the neighbor!"

From some other sources in northern Minnesota come some spells to cure burns, scratches, and other injuries. These charms are of a very old type, as they were originally known only to the professional sorcerers. They show their age, too, by using the formula which traces the origin of whatever caused the injury. An idea as old as the "Kalevala" was that naming the beginnings of an evil force would cure the damage it had caused.

Aside from these rare magic chants, many very old Finnish songs survive in Minnesota. Recently I heard an old woodsman sing a drinking song that is, musically, the sort of thing that Shakespeare's people sang when they did their drinking, as we know from the music of that period. Elizabethan types of song, however, are not very old as Finnish folk songs go. One of the best-known songs in the Finnish communities is a ballad generally sung, according to folk-song experts in Finland, before the year 1500. The story of the ballad is familiar to Americans of British and Scandinavian descent. It is called "Edward" in England, Scotland, and the Appalachian Mountains; in Sweden it is "Sven i Rösengård"; in Finland, "Velisurmaaja"—"The Brother-murderer." Wherever it originated, probably in Sweden or Scotland, the Finnish version of the ballad has the advantage of an especially fine air, as well as many verses of good folk poetry. To hear, in one's first days of folk-song collecting, as I did, this old ballad, with its perfect, tragic air, is a curious and thrilling experience to a collector. Many of the existing twenty verses are known to Finnish singers, usually the first four or five, in which the story by question and answer comes to the climax:

Why is your sword so red with blood,  
O my gallant son?  
I stabbed my brother, he is dead,  
Mother, dearest mother.

Most of the singers know, also, the concluding verses:

When will you come back again,  
O my unhappy son?  
When the raven turns snow-white,  
Mother, honored mother.

When the snow-white swan turns black. . . .  
When the moon turns burning hot. . . .  
When the stars dance in the sky. . . .  
When we all come to Judgment Day.

Even older airs than that of "The Brother-murderer" are heard in the characteristic songs from north Finland given to me by a singer in the iron range town of Virginia. Her province—barren, rocky, and curiously lakeless for Finland—is noted for a special kind of rough song with words celebrating the deeds of the "bad men" who once made that country notorious. An example of this type is the ballad of "Ison-Talon Antti"—"Big-house Andy"—with its blood-thirsty story and grand, spirited tune, very generally sung in Minnesota. But the songs from the same locality which this Virginia woman sings are the exact opposite—the gentlest songs imaginable. They are sung very softly and slowly—ancient songs, with odd inflections. With each song the singer tells a story of how she first heard it, giving a picture of the countryside, the manor farms of her childhood and young girlhood in Finland. Often the songs have verses as lovely as the airs—for instance, the "wake-up" song sung at dawn by people going out to work in the fields, which ends:

The cuckoo calls, then all the birds are singing,  
And now the herdsman sounds his horn of birchbark.

Songs about trees are common, often with some symbolic meaning:

Never does the aspen cease from quivering in the wind,  
Never does my heart cease remembering past love.

There are many songs about trees—juniper, birch, spruce, pine, and alder seem to be the most common. Rather oddly, the sacred tree of Finnish legend, the mountain ash, is not mentioned in the songs surviving in this country. But the tree itself—the rowan tree of Scottish superstition—has not been forgotten in this country, for one may see it growing in many a Finnish yard in the streets of mining towns, and planted beside the house doors of farmhouses, to bring good luck. Its red berries become associated with the Finnish-American scene; they are as characteristic as the red-walled houses by the gray-rocked lake shores. A touch of Finnish mysticism, of ancient magic, suits the north country, where, in spite of vast public buildings in the towns, and busses on the highways, the ragged surrounding forest is never forgotten, and people still travel by ski in winter and canoe in summer. For a few more years, perhaps, one may still meet black bears in the woods and red foxes on the roads, find magic on the homesteads, and hear strange music beside the lakes.

MARJORIE EDGAR

MARINE ON THE ST. CROIX, MINNESOTA

## THE "NEW YORK TRIBUNE" AND THE MINNESOTA FRONTIER<sup>1</sup>

"*The [New York] Tribune* is the favorite paper of our neighborhood and cabin. We find always in its columns, besides the news of the week, articles of particular interest to farmers and their wives. From its politics down to the discussions on the proper manner to boil a potato, all are instructive." This statement, made by a St. Paul correspondent in the summer of 1857, was borne out by fact. The most influential paper published in the United States in the fifties, the *New York Tribune*, also ranked first in its influence in Minnesota. In the year 1856 its circulation in the territory was 2,943, larger than that of any local paper; and three years later, in spite of the depression that followed the panic of 1857, the list of subscribers in the newly admitted state was smaller by only six. The popularity of this journal grew largely from its identification with principles which the West supported—particularly abolition of slavery, encouragement of western development and settlement, and promotion of agriculture as a noble and worthy occupation. Although its support of a protective tariff ran counter to western sentiment, its encouragement of industrial association and co-operative effort met with approval. Information about Minnesota in the paper is largely in the form of letters written by residents and visitors there. Out of these grows the diorama of the settler's problems and experiences presented here, in which his disappointments as well as his opportunities are set forth.

The *Tribune* reflects the confidence of Horace Greeley, its editor, in the future of Minnesota Territory and be-

<sup>1</sup> A paper read on June 27, 1936, at the Marine session of the fourteenth state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. Ed.

littles the disadvantages of residence there. Aside from the hardships of pioneer life anywhere, frontier life in Minnesota, the *Tribune* maintained, was not more difficult than in other places, in spite of its northern latitude. To inquiries made by prospective settlers as to the attractions offered in that locality, the journal replied editorially:

Minnesota is a good State—one of the most fertile, best timbered, best watered, of all the New States. . . .

Her cold is an objection—more because of its effect on fruit-trees, &c. than from its direct influence on human beings—but it is not an unmixed evil. It unquestionably contributes to vigor of muscle, energy in labor, activity and longevity.

Some correspondents from the territory did not paint so roseate a picture. With the perspective of a few months' residence in Minnesota, a realistic observer advises:

Do not dwell upon the poetry of Western life. . . . To sunder all early ties, and come West to *live*, is no child's play, and the question of removal to the West should be seriously approached.

Who should go West? Frontiersmen answered this query by welcoming good citizens, good "moral" men, mechanics, women, and people with capital that they were willing to invest in industrial enterprises. The most desirable immigrant, in the opinion of one writer, was the newly married man. Bachelors were too careless about their manner of living, and the scarcity of unmarried women on the frontier made it unlikely that they would marry after they arrived. On the other hand, men with large families would find traveling expenses and provision bills too heavy a burden. People who were already comfortably situated in the East were advised to remain where they were, as were lawyers and doctors, of whom there already were enough in the West, and land speculators, always *personæ non græ* on the frontier. Residence of nearly seven years on the frontier "painfully" convinced one writer that the "first-class" citizen rarely emigrated, and he warned the prospective settler not to expect to find society as he would



wish it to be, but to come with the intention of helping to build it up.

Having made the decision to establish a home in the new land, the emigrant had first a slow and arduous journey to make to his prospective home. Ratification of the Indian treaties of 1851 opened the fertile southern part of the state to settlement, and caravans of cattle, horses, and wagons streamed in from neighboring states. In the later fifties the emigrant perhaps traveled by rail to Dunleith and thence by ferry across the Mississippi to Dubuque, where steamboat passage up or down the river might be obtained. Due allowance, however, had to be made for delays. The passenger might find that, although he was in Dubuque, his baggage was still on the other side of the river when the boat left. On the other hand he might board a boat which had steam up and bells ringing, only to have it quiet down when the passengers had secured their tickets and repeat the same performance as later groups arrived until it had enough of a load to make the trip pay.

Arrived at his destination, the settler shared with hundreds of other prospective residents the problem of establishing a business or locating a farm. The rapid settlement of communities along the Mississippi River in the fifties is illustrated by the growth of Hastings. In the spring of 1855 the village consisted of eight houses, one store, and a tavern. A year and a half later it boasted a population of at least twenty-five hundred, fifty stores, several hotels, three churches, four schools, four sawmills, a flour mill, three banks, and two daily lines of four-horse stages. It was in the problem of locating a farm that the *Tribune* and its correspondents were primarily interested. Claims which would furnish prairie land, timber, water, and accessibility to market were "first class" and were not to be found in settled neighborhoods. To reach such locations, immigrants in 1857 were compelled to go forty to a hundred miles back from the Mississippi below St. Paul. An Iowa

visitor recommended to Easterners in 1857 that they buy "second hand lands" in preference to government lands, as they could thus acquire excellent improved farms with needed resources at from six to fifteen dollars an acre. In the depression years after 1857, financial difficulties of farmers and declining land prices combined to make available to the homeseeker many bargains.

The immigrant found every kind of conveyance costly, and in the spring he encountered "such roads as he never dreamed of." After days or weeks spent in searching for a good location, the settler, with the aid of his neighbors, "who were invariably kind and friendly," cut and put up the logs for his cabin. The new home commonly comprised a lower room lighted by two small windows and divided into two or three apartments by quilts and blankets, and a loft reached by a short ladder in one corner of the house. As the next step in home building, the settler was advised to have an acre or two of ground plowed, or if that was impossible, to spade up a garden and plant vegetables. Farming implements were costly and scarce, and the charge for hiring a breaking team was from five to ten dollars an acre. Corn meal, salt pork, and molasses were the staple foods of the new settler; butter, milk, and fresh meat he was forced to do without unless he had money to buy them. The new country supplied gratis such delicacies as strawberries, raspberries, wild plums, and cranberries, and there was an abundance of wild game.

The newcomer whose means were scanty was advised not to bring members of his family with him, but to leave them in the East until he had prepared a home for them and had earned enough money to pay their traveling expenses. If his neighbors saw that he was honest, industrious, and sincere in his intention to become an actual settler, he might leave his new home to earn money with the assurance that his claim would not be "jumped." If he sought work as a farm hand, he could usually find employment near his claim

for good wages. If he was a mechanic, particularly if he was a blacksmith, a carpenter, a shoemaker, a mason, a joiner, or a millwright, he would find that his skill was in demand in the vicinity of his claim. In winter he could earn money chopping wood or working in the pineries. Nature also provided marketable goods for the taking in the form of cranberries and ginseng. Cranberries, which might be gathered at the rate of fifteen bushels a day, brought from five to seven dollars a barrel in 1853. In 1859 a correspondent estimated that enough ginseng had been dug in Minnesota to make seventy thousand pounds of the dried root, and a second writer believed that the amount sold that season exceeded two hundred thousand dollars in value.

Thus even the poorest man, if he was industrious and trustworthy, could shortly establish a home that might not be elegant or convenient, but was at least comfortable. The western enthusiast held up this "certainty of a comfortable home and competence for life" as the "salvation" of the white laborers of the eastern cities who were enmeshed in the "serfdom" of the industrial system and who had the courage and the energy to make a break for independence. To the men of the family the transition to frontier life was accompanied by much hard work and planning for the future. This occupied their minds and dulled the shock of change from their accustomed manner of living. Women were more likely to be oppressed by the monotony and isolation of the new life pictured in the following account:

Back of the cabin is the forest, and in front of it stretches the wearisome prairie; half a mile off is the nearest neighbor; and here and there, on the rolls of the prairie, are seen the log cabins of the settlers. The store may be three, or it may be ten miles away. Church there is none. Silence is all around. . . . The mosquitoes come early in the evening and stay all night. . . . When the excitement of moving into the new home is over and the family begin to look the fact in the face, that they have really come West to *live*; and, if the

wife and daughters don't have some "good crying-spells," then they are made of superior stuff to that of common folks.

Filing a claim, building a home, breaking the sod, clearing and fencing the land, and assembling the family were not the sum total of the farmer's problems. Eventually the land must be paid for. Crops—such as the grasshoppers, gophers, and field mice left—must be marketed. Money was scarce and often worthless. Mortgages and high rates of interest obscured the vision of independence and self-sufficiency. And the panic of 1857 stalked through the land.

In the all-important land question, the western settler found deep grievances against the government and the Democratic party. His meager resources were usually exhausted in building improvements, stocking his farm, transporting his goods and family, and buying provisions for his first year of residence. To pay for his farm, he was often obliged to borrow money or to mortgage his property after the twelve-month period of credit allowed by the pre-emption law had expired. Only under favorable conditions was the average farmer able to make more than his current expenses during the first years of residence on the frontier. In 1860 it was said that there were twenty thousand settlers on government lands in the state who could not pay for their holdings without disposing of all their other possessions, and ten thousand who could not pay for their claims under any conditions. Moreover, the western pioneer felt that by the work and sacrifice he had given to wrest the soil from the wilderness he had earned title to the land. Persistent opposition on the part of the Democratic president and a majority of the Democrats in Congress to a free homestead law and the erratic policy pursued by the administration relative to land sales irritated the Westerners and convinced them that their salvation lay in the Republican party, which, in the words of the *Tribune*, "saves them from spoliation of their homes." In the absence of a law

granting ownership in return for residence, the settlers sought to retain the use of their land without paying for it, first, by agitating for the postponement of land sales by the federal government so that they might renew time after time their pre-emption rights, and, second, by the formation of claim associations through which they could manipulate land sales.

The financial plight of the farmers on the frontier in the late fifties is well described in a memorial to President Buchanan on the subject of public land sales, which reads in part:

We came to this part of the country with the hope that by a few years of labor, economy, prudence, and deprivation, we could pay for enough land to make homes for ourselves, and our families. In this we have been disappointed. Many of us have raised enough produce and stock, which, if they could have been sold . . . at fair prices, would enable us to pay for our lands; but we have no market at home, and no railroads to carry it abroad. If we wish to exchange our produce for necessary articles, we must carry it from five to fifteen miles to find a store, and when there, we must give ten bushels of wheat to buy a pair of boots, and four bushels of corn to buy a yard of coarse woolen cloth. . . .

On account of the scarcity of teams, we often have to carry our grain and other produce a part or all of the way to mill and market on our backs, and to bring back our flour, salt, nails, and cloths, in the same way. Tea, sugar, molasses, spices, and the like, we go without for years, or use them only as a medicine, or on special occasions.

We wear corn-sack pantaloons, and old moccasins and boot legs for foot coverings. We use leather hinges, and wooden latches, and glass enough barely to do our in-door work.

We are not presenting to you the cause of the indolent or the profligate—we have worked late, and we have worked early, and have used as much frugality and prudence as any class of people in the Union. Still, we are not able to pay for our lands.

The panic of 1857 sent farm prices into a tailspin of deflation, although prices of merchants' goods remained high. Property was reduced from fifty to seventy-five per cent in market price. To the debtor, the rise of interest charges to prohibitive heights was little short of disastrous. Bank-

ers discounted only for short terms and in small amounts on the best security at an average rate of twenty-five per cent. Five per cent a month was not an uncommon interest charge, and one individual was known to exact as much as eight if he knew the borrower needed the money badly. At twelve per cent a year, a reasonable rate to the Westerner, it was practically impossible to secure a loan. As a result of the increasing discrepancy between income and expenses, the settler who had borrowed money to pay for his claim was compelled to give up his holdings and move farther west, unless his lands adjoined a townsite and were thus increased in value.

The discontent of the frontier farmer concentrated in hatred of the land speculator, the man who purposed to make money in a new community without doing any work and who retarded development there by withholding large tracts of land from cultivation. It was not that the settler was averse to speculation as such, for he entered the game too, insisting upon securing title to at least two quarter sections, one to occupy and the other to hold until he could sell it for a satisfactory advance. In the contest between resident and nonresident speculators, the former kept the upper hand. The manner in which this was done is described by the observer of a land sale held in the summer of 1857 at Osage, a town in northern Iowa where conditions similar to those in Minnesota obtained. When the sale opened, the population of Osage was trebled by the influx of two thousand strangers, of whom five hundred were settlers from the adjoining region, two hundred were onlookers, and the rest, speculators. Legally, all government lands were first offered at auction and sold to the highest bidder, starting with a minimum price of a dollar and twenty-five cents an acre. In practice, however, settlers and speculators worked together to share the desirable tracts at the lowest price. Actual settlers who had "proved up" their quarter sections bought their lands at the minimum rate without question.

But having acquired one quarter section, they claimed the right to a second quarter at the same price. This the speculators agreed to on condition that the settlers state their numbers and when their land was taken. When the settlers refused to accede to this request, the speculators bid up the land, only to find that their opponents outbid them but failed to pay. Unless payment was made on the day of the bid, the land was auctioned off again on the following day, until the twelve days of the sale were over and the land came in again for pre-emption.

As the sale continued with very little land changing hands, both parties realized the need for an agreement. A successful arrangement seemed to have been made by the speculators when they organized a committee made up of one of their number from each state. This group drew up a plan of action by which the frontiersmen were to receive their extra quarter sections, and the remaining lands were to be distributed among the speculators in half section lots by a lottery system. When they found that the plan was working, the settlers interested other residents in buying land, with the result that by the last day of the sale about a thousand buyers had received certificates for a second quarter of land. The lottery system was then put into operation by the speculators, seven hundred and ninety-seven of whom were registered. Some of these men sold their drawings within a few hours at profits of twenty-five to a hundred and fifty dollars.

The auction sale closed on a Saturday, and on the following Monday the land office was to be opened to anyone for private entries with gold or land warrants. Competition among buyers was keen. Many pre-emptors were interested in entering land with warrants, which were applicable only for private entry after the public sale was closed and which at that time could be exchanged at a cash outlay of ninety-five cents an acre. Moreover, on Sunday hundreds of the self-styled settlers sold both the quarters they

had obtained, made new locations, and returned to the land office to file their new claims. The settlers, fearing that the speculators, because of superior numbers, would control the private sales on Monday, took proper precautions. At five o'clock on Saturday afternoon, five citizens of Osage seated themselves at the door of the land office. About twenty men spent the night there, and new recruits joined them on Sunday. By five o'clock on Monday morning, hundreds of men were awaiting the opening of the office. When the door was finally unlocked and the crowd pushed in, many of the men suffered broken legs and ribs, others fainted and were carried out through a window, and still others had their clothing torn to tatters. After all this difficulty, less than two hundred of the thousands who demanded admittance could squeeze into the land office, and only some fifteen received on the opening day the half section allotted to each. By such devious and dubious methods the immigrant became a landed proprietor.

Thus is the social and economic life of Minnesota and the Northwest in the fifties depicted in the columns of the *Tribune*. Conditions in frontier Minnesota were pictured with remarkable candidness and absence of exaggeration. The undesirable was presented as well as the favorable; discouragements as well as satisfactions were anticipated. It is difficult to imagine that an Easterner who was prepared for removal to Minnesota by a diligent reading of this journal could be greatly surprised or disillusioned by what he found upon his arrival.

RUBY G. KARSTAD

STAPLES, MINNESOTA



## MAKING A MOTION PICTURE IN 1848

### JOURNAL OF CANOE VOYAGE FROM THE FALLS OF ST ANTHONY TO ST LOUIS

[Earlier installments of Henry Lewis' diary, describing his visit to the upper Mississippi and his journey downstream to Galena, appear in the issues of this magazine for June and September, ante, p. 131-158, 288-301. The voyage from Galena to St. Louis, the artist's home, is the subject of the concluding section, published herewith. B.L.H.]

July 22 Left our encampment at Fever river early and Mr Rogers made for me a very pretty sketch of it. The wind was ahead as usual in going up or down this stream and when we got again in to the Miss<sup>pl</sup> we found such a head wind blowing that for the first time since our start we were compell'd to lay to, which we did in a bottom cover'd with a dense growth of high trees and vines. these trees some of them were so fine that I made studies from them, and in looking round with my gun I manag'd to shoot a most beautiful white heron. . . .

The wind somewhat subsiding we put to sea again and continued to the beautifully situated town of Bell[e]vue. this is a scattering little town of some 150 inhabitants, but of cour[s]e it is going to be a city some day.<sup>41</sup> We landed at the upper end of the town. . . . this place some time since was the scene of some violent lynch law proceeding. 6 or 7 men notorious as horse thieves and counterfeters were shot and hung. One of these was nam'd, Fox he was one of the murdere[r]s of the unfortunate Deavenport. he made his escape altho' wounded but was afterwards taken and executed.<sup>42</sup> . . .

<sup>41</sup> Bellevue, in Jackson County, Iowa, had 360 inhabitants in 1850, according to the census of that year.

<sup>42</sup> William Fox was a member of a gang of outlaws which had its headquarters at Bellevue from 1837 to 1840. In the "Bellevue War" in the latter year some of the outlaws were killed and others, including Fox, were arrested, whipped, and banished from Bellevue. He was one of the robbers who, five years later on July 4, 1845, murdered Colonel George Davenport in his home on Rock Island. Although Fox was indicted, he seems to have escaped punishment. *History of Jackson County, Iowa*, 359, 396-403 (Chicago, 1879); Harry E. Downer, *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, 981 (Chicago, 1910).

I [A] few miles below it commenc'd raining hard and as I had no notion of camping out in a rain storm if I could get into a house, I ran directly for a queer snug looking cottage about a mile ahead. arriving there we discover'd two old log cabins, one of which was occupied the other only had a stove in it. a hundred yards further down and in the same lot was the cottage I spoke of[,] these cabins having been evidently erected by the first settlers on this spot. We tied up our boat and I started for the house above (as there was no one at home at the old log house), to try and make a lease for one night of the vacant room. On my arrival at the threshold . . . I enter'd the house, and accosted an elderly but very lady like woman by asking her if her husband was at home. she answer'd by going to a bed and bringing him forth. (this was Sunday you must remember and he was fullfilling the commandment which we were not, by making a day of rest of it). on stating my request to him that we might occupy the vacant half of his old log house he appear'd very glum and stated that it was rented to a neighbour of his and he could say nothing about it but he was finally induc'd by the persuasive voice of his wife, to grant our request, and having ask'd him to walk down with me to our craft, I soon talk'd him into a good humor. I found in him quite a character. It seems he was a Scotchman by birth, by the name of Jackson he was well educated and had serv'd some 20 years in the british navy, first as lieutenant and afterwards as Cap<sup>n</sup>. That thro' some disgrace he got into with the government (which he did not tell us the subject of) he lost his commission and had to leave the country, that he was finally thro' influence at home, reinstated again. That being in Canada when the revolution broke out he was tempted by the old Harry to take part with the rebels which they were of course as they did not succeed,<sup>43</sup> and again lost his commission, and very near his liberty but he manag'd to escape to the U S and after a series of adventures which I have not time to relate, settled down where I found him. and the British naval officer, the Canadian rebel and the hospitable inteligent gentleman is now farming on a low bottom which is surrounded by water one half of the year, and selling wood to the steam boats for a living. Such is life and such its varied changes. After stending [*spending*] with him and his intelligent lady a very pleasant ev[en]ing and having partaken of their hospitality whilst we

<sup>43</sup> Jackson evidently participated in the Canadian revolt of 1837.

remained there, the storm having abated somewhat we pull'd stakes and started aga[i]n on. Made this day only 28 m.

Monday July 23<sup>rd</sup> 1848. And soon ran down to the beautifully situated towns of Fulton and Lions opposite each other<sup>44</sup> The river here is very narrow, deep and rapid and hence its name of the narrows of the Miss We made this day 48 miles. Nothing of particular note occur'd to day after passing Galena, the signs of civilisation began to increase the pioneers log hut began to give place to the comfortable log house and the small and poorly-cultivated fields, which necessity alone compels the pioneer to labour on, gives place to larger farms and more smiling meadows and fields. We were visited at this place by some of the inhabitants and I learn'd from them that the country back was of exceeding richness, that it was fast filling up, and that there little rival towns (between whom the most christian and city like hatred existed) were beginning to flourish. These towns were built by rival speculating companies some ten years ago, and like men who grow very fast, they were not strong or healthy. The consequence they outgrew their clothes. hugh taverns were built when there was no one to eat in them and rows of fine houses were crying for tenants, but time which heals all diseases, either by killing or curing is fast filling up these numerous little towns on the Upper Miss, and depending solely on their own resourses and the wants of the country surrounding them, they are fast beginning and some of them may become some day what they all were originally intended to be Citi[e]s.

July 24 Up with the sun? and hurrying our culinary preparation as the wind was fair and strong, we took our coffee and ham on board, struck our tent and hoisting sail quietly enjoyed our breakfast as we fast and smo[o]thly glided along. We made up our mind at starting this morning to run the upper rapids and reach Rock Island if possible by night and by dint of hard rowing for the wind was too good to last we reach'd our destination and encamp'p'd [*sic*] on that beautiful island a few hundred yards above the house where the unfortunate Deavenport was murder'd. We were much fatigu'd by this days run, especially myself as I had been out on the island hunting for our party, whilst M<sup>r</sup> Rogers was making a sketch of the beautifully situated town of Moline opposite the head of rock Island. I found

<sup>44</sup> The towns were Fulton, Illinois, and Lyons, Iowa.

rabbits exceedingly abundant here and kill'd 7 or 8 at as many spots in a very short time. We then dropt down to our encampment and had broil'd rabbit for supper, quite a luxury for those who have been living on salt meet for fourteen days. The count[r]y above and along the rapid is beautiful in the extreme, highly cultivated and with its numerous fields of ripe grain and dark green meadow, told plainly that the labourer was rewarded for his toil, and that an all bou[n]tiful providence had smil'd upon his efforts. But it was a country that the pencil could not convey, the idea of utilitarian plenty and comfort predominated and altho' ma[n]y a rude log hut and smiling cottage with its flowers train'd about its tresilated porch giving good promise that fair forms dwelt within would have made separately good a[nd] pleasing pictures still as a whole they were wanting in bold strong features like the country I had pass'd thro'. I however with M<sup>r</sup> Rogers made many sketches and we took also all the little towns we pass'd some of which were very prettily situated

July 25<sup>th</sup> Drop'd down this morning to the foot of the island and whilst friend Robb goes across in our skiff to Rock Island city to see for letters or papers, we go to work to make sketches of the two beautiful towns on opposite sides of the river. having accomplish'd our task we cross'd over to Deavenport and here we were met again by a host of hospitable and pressing friends. We took dinner at the La Clare house on the invitation of M<sup>r</sup> Stout of St Louis and after dinner adjourn'd down to our little craft[,] many gentlemen hearing of our object being anxious to see our sketches. We pass'd a very pleasant hour together and cross'd over to let the people on the other side have a look at us as well as to get some stores. we got off late in the evening and encamp'd on the point of a willow island in a heavy rain storm; and in my tent on the sand beach, with the rain pattering on my tent, I am stretch'd on my mattrass writing this, by the light of a gas lamp, Friend Robb being asleep on one side and Rogers on the other reading Domb[e]y and son while my two voyagers are silently sleeping at each end.<sup>45</sup> and as I am tir'd myself and as I have told you every thing that occ[u]r'd to day which I think would interest you I will take a pull at my Myershaum and then to sleep—oh such sleep—so good night?

<sup>45</sup> As Dickens' *Dombey and Son* was published in parts between 1846 and 1848, its appearance on the upper Mississippi in the latter year is worthy of note.



**FORT ARMSTRONG AND DAVENPORT, IOWA**

[From an oil painting by Henry Lewis, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.]



BURLINGTON, IOWA, IN 1848

[From a lithograph in Lewis, *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, 220.]

July 26 Started at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 6, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 oclock we arriv'd at the beautifully situated town of Bloomington. This place was so picturesque that I was induc'd to take three views of it, one from, above, one panoramic view and a view over looking it from the bluffs by which it is back'd. The country between this and Rock Island is the most bea[u]tifully cultivated of any I have seen in the western states — farm joins farm for nearly the whole distance. the land is excellent and rises gradually and beautifully from the river as if made expressly for the purpose. At the time we pass'd the people were gathering in their wheat harvest and the scene was one of great animation. the crops this year were very abundant [*sic*] and the yellow fields and busy hands, the loaded teams and happy, healthy-looking children form'd altogether a picture which Thompson would have lov'd to contemplate<sup>46</sup>

I found Bloomington much more of a place than I expected it numbers some 2000 inhabitants[,] supports 2 newspapers and numbers of all kinds of mechanics, and [h]as altogether about it an air of thriving business like prosperity.<sup>47</sup> We remain'd an hour or two and then dropt down a couple of miles and encamp't on the celebrated Muscatine prairie. This prairie is on an island of im[m]ense extent — being 30 miles long and varieng [*varying*] 6 to 7 miles. The soil is of great fertility and were it not for the scarcity of wood for rails and fuel, it would no doubt be thickly settled, as it is there are but few settlers on it, and they along the river. when on the bluffs above and the eye can take in the vast extent of this prairie waste, with its few settle[r]s houses looking like boats upon an ocean of green, it is fill'd with sorrow to think how many millions there are at this moment in Europe starving for bread whilst this rich mine of agricultural wealth lies unwork'd and almost unknown. There are in this vicinity some very good sand stone quarries and iron in its native state as an

<sup>46</sup> The reference probably is to James Thomson, the British poet, author of *The Seasons*.

<sup>47</sup> Muscatine, Iowa, was known as Bloomington until June, 1849. Lewis notes the change of name in *Das illustrirte Mississippithal*, where he includes pictures both of the town and of the prairie (p. 216, 218). In 1850, the population of Muscatine was 2,540. The local newspapers of 1848 were the *Bloomington Herald* and the *Democratic Enquirer*. Macy, *Iowa Newspapers*, 81, 82; J. P. Walton, *Pioneer Papers, Comprising a Collection of the Recollections of Early Events of Bloomington, Iowa, Now Muscatine*, 26, 66 (Muscatine, 1899).

oxide is found in great quantities, but it is still unwork'd. We made this day 28 miles and as I have for supper to night the additional luxuries of fresh beef and new milk, I do not feel much like writing.

July 27<sup>th</sup> Started at sunrise, and running for fourteen miles along the beautiful shores of the Muscatine prairie arriv'd at the little town of Port Louise after taking a sketch we proceeded on to New Boston, the country between these places 8 miles being a densely wooded bottom the river very wide and cover'd with numerous and thickly wooded islands. New Bo[s]ton has been evidently laid out by Eastern speculators for along the steep sand bluff on the summit of which the town is built are three warehouses at equal distances of the same size and the same style of architecture, if a hugh square frame bu[i]lding with three windows and a door can be said to have any style about it. On landing we found this to be the case. The town is not very flourishing and if it ever grows to be any thing it will have to be by the back country support which is not at present very numerous, and what inhabitants there are can buy and sell better at Bloomington and Oquaqua [*Oquawka, Illinois*], both being large and flourishing towns. the intermediate towns which were founded near the same time now feel that there are too many of them and one half at least will have to become vil[l]ages or decay. Keit[h]sburg is one of these and looks more flourishing than the other two and being settled principally by Germans who are very clanish in their nature may possibly succeed in becoming something. We arriv'd at Oquaqua just as the sun was setting and encamp't on the beautiful prairie just below it<sup>48</sup> from our encampment we made a very fine sketch and this clos'd the labours of the day. while the men were cooking supper I took my gun and tried if I could not find some prairie chickens but was unsuccessful. after a hea[r]ty supper turn'd in and enjoy'd under my musqueto bar a most excellent nights rest

July 28 A glorious sunrise. struck tent and took breakfast on

<sup>48</sup>Lewis was correct in his prediction that the towns along the Mississippi were situated too close to one another to develop into thriving communities. Port Louisa, Iowa, has long since ceased to exist. New Boston and Keithsburg, Illinois, which were settled in the thirties and forties, passed through brief periods of prosperity. Oquawka, which was laid out in 1836, developed as a shipping center and prospered until the trade of the river steamboats was taken over by the railroads. Arthur Springer, *History of Louisa County, Iowa*, 1: 289, 296 (Chicago, 1912); *History of Mercer County*, 80-83, 127-129, 887 (Chicago, 1882).



board as we drifted along after a run of 15 miles arriv'd at Burlington a fine thriving town of some 1600, or 12000 [*sic*] Inhabitants.<sup>49</sup> It is beautifully situated on a gradually rising slope surrounded by very picturesque hills and will make a fine view for our panorama. This town is principally built by eastern people and is supported by the thriving and thickly settled country back. the whole of this part of Iowa will ultimately become the grannary of the West, as there is no other part of this western country can compare with it both in soil and climate. Burlington supports 2 papers, strong in the lowest slang of party politics.<sup>50</sup> how such papers can get support is to me as astonishing or [*as*] how any man can read to say nothing of believing such stories as each tells of the other['s] candidates. But it is all taken for gospel by these simple country people and they vote accordingly. To the credit of most of the Whig papers be it spoken they were conducted in a much more dignified and gentlemanly manner. their number was small as most of these country towns are democratic and if they support any one paper that one is sure to be a democratic one. In one of these democratic journals I counted no less than 16 political articles not one of which threw the least light on government matters or policy, but merely personal plank or abusive of such men as Gen [Zachary] Taylor or Henry Clay or some of their own state candidates. Not one useful item to the farmer not one paragraph of news, wh[i]lst all the eastern papers were teeming with matters of the most intense interest and as to the fine arts that was never dreampt of in their phisology [*sic*].

Another curious feature that strikes the traveller in these country towns is the management and system with which the *Circus* performances are carried on. In the bar rooms of every country town and on the porch if it have one are stuck up one or more of their monstrous

<sup>49</sup> The population of Burlington numbered 4,082 in 1850. The settlement had its beginnings in the middle thirties; at the time of Lewis' visit it was growing rapidly. See Augustine M. Antrobus, *History of Des Moines County, Iowa*, 1: 111 (Chicago, 1915). It is interesting to note that the first definite mention of the panorama in this diary is made by Lewis in the present entry.

<sup>50</sup> The Burlington newspapers of 1848 were the *Iowa State Gazette*, a Democratic sheet, and the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot*, a Whig paper. One of the founders of the *Gazette*, which was established in 1837, was James Clarke, who later became governor of Iowa Territory. "The 1848 election swept the state for the Democratic party, a result to which the *Gazette* largely contributed." Macy, *Iowa Newspapers*, 35.

show bills / should the room not be high enoug[h] they continue it on the ceiling and there you see horses and elephants and musisions all with their heads down like flies from the ceiling. These bills some of which are 10 feet by 7 are cover'd with highly colour'd wood cuts of men in impossible attitudes and horses doing every thing but speak. wonderful dogs indeed too are shown if they do half they are made to do on these bills. Then there are delicate, and daintily dress'd women in gaiter boots with remarkably short dresses standing on the extreme points of the sharpest toe, the other foot elevated some degrees above a right angle, and the horse darting at the maddest gallop with neither saddle or bridle. Men are bent into the most impossible shapes and others are suspended in such strange agonizing positions that would have put *they* who made martyrs in the olden time into raptures could they hay [*have*] thought of. Then there is wild beast shows, with men in Lions and tigers dens and running the hands and arms and heads into their mouths, and putting themselves [*sic*] into more bodily perrill than Daniel himself ever dreamt of. All these things and a great many more are eagerly swallow'd by the gaping crowd, a talking and wondering group of whom would always be seen around one of these mammoth lies.<sup>51</sup>

There is one object strikes painfully on the eye of the stranger as he wanders th[r]o' the stragglng streets of these little towns and that is the stumps and in some cases the trunks of noble trees that have been fell'd with a ruthless and indiscriminating hand to form the cite of a City when these places grow up to be anything as some of them doubtless will, thousand[s] of dollars would be given to replace the noble elms and oaks that have thus been wantonly destroy'd. But the fact is they who generally lay out these places have no more eye for beauty expecially for the beauties of nature than a pig has of pearls the dollar the eternal dollar is what they are after and to gain this every beautiful tree that ever grew may fall to the earth.

But I am staying here too long and must away again. Between this place and Nauvo[o] you pass 3 or 4 small towns, got up by land

<sup>51</sup> The early history of the circus in America has received some attention in an article by R. W. G. Vail entitled "Random Notes on the History of the Early American Circus," which appears in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1933. As early as July, 1850, a circus staged a performance in St. Paul. Theodore C. Blegen, "Minnesota Pioneer Life as Revealed in Newspaper Advertisements," *ante*, 7: 112.

speculators and not worthy of particular mention till you come to Fort Madison a large and thriving town finely situated on the W bank and conta[in]ing a population of some 2000.<sup>52</sup> Eight miles below here we come to the celebrated city of Nau[v]oo, where as the sun was just setting we encamp't and I immediately hurried up to take a look at the temple and see it by sun set.<sup>53</sup> Taking into consideration the circumstances under which it was built it is a wonderful building and considering too that it is of no particular style it dones [does] not in the least offend the eye by its uniqueness like all most all innovation[s] from old establish'd standards do It is 125 feet in length 96 in width and 180 feet high. It bears a nearer resemblance to the Bysantium of Roman Greecian style than any other altho' the capitals and bases are entirely unique still the cornices are grecian in part. you enter the vestibule thro' three circular door ways about 60 feet high, and 25 wide. Between these is pilaster [pilaster?] and two at each side leaving a stace [space] of some 20 feet. windows come over these doors[,] then the frieze and cornice which has a row of circular windows in it, and then thru square pediments which support the dome like tower. There are 9 pilasters on the sides finish'd in the same way as the front with three rows of windows, instead of the doors in front.

July 30 Started from our encampment and floating down to the lower end of Nauvo City we stop[pe]d to take a look at the town and finish our examination of the temple by exploring the interior, for a particular acc<sup>t</sup> of which see preceeding page. we call'd and saw the widow of the celebrated prophet and builder up of this place Joe Smith She is a remarkably fine looking woman I should judge of some 35 or 40 years of age with a strongly mark'd tho' kind and intel[l]igent face on whose surface are the marks of much care and suffering She has a fine family of five fine boys by the prophet as he is call'd the oldest of which must be some 15 or 16 years. she is now again married to a man by the name of Bideman but she is always call'd the widow Smith. She supports herself and family by

<sup>52</sup> According to the census of 1850, in that year Fort Madison, Iowa, had a population of 1,509.

<sup>53</sup> The Mormon Temple at Nauvoo was dedicated in April, 1846. Lewis saw the structure only a short time before it was burned on October 9, 1848. He includes pictures of both the town and the temple in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, where he presents a detailed account of Nauvoo, Mormonism, and its founder, Joseph Smith (p. 225-245).

keeping one of the largest and best hotels in the place and seems to be doing a thriving business.<sup>54</sup>

Having gratified our curios[i]ty and gain'd what interesting items we could, we made a start of it to run over the rapids which commence here and continue some fourteen miles. When about four miles on our way we were struck by a severe thunder squall and had to make for shore and lay up while it pass'd. proceeding again the wind being very strong but fair we pass'd by aid of our sails with fearful rapid[it]y over these dangerous and boiling shoals. the river falls some [*blank in MS.*] feet in the distance of the fourteen miles<sup>55</sup> and in low water they are impassible [*passable?*] for boats only that draw very little water and they will often be from 3 to 4 days getting over the freight all has to be taken out and tow'd over in barges. The government did begin to improve these rapids, so as to make them navigable at all seasons, but the appropriations soon gave out having all been swallow'd by government sharks in what the[y] call'd necessary preparations and a new administration coming in oppos'd to all improvments the rapids remain as they always have been a barrier to navigation and as they always will be 'til some more liberal policy is pursued<sup>56</sup>

Here we left M<sup>r</sup> Robb, whose duties at home at [*had*] been long urgent and who by the by was getting pretty well tir'd of the trip

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon church, was murdered on June 27, 1844, during the so-called Mormon war. He left a widow, Emma Hale Smith, and four sons. Two years later most of the members of the sect were driven from Illinois, but a few of Smith's relatives remained and their descendants still live in the vicinity. In 1847 Smith's widow married Major Lewis C. Bidamon. She continued to live in Nauvoo until her death in 1879. Pease, *The Frontier State*, 352, 362 n.; Mary A. S. Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale*, 565 (Independence, Missouri, 1929).

<sup>55</sup> The river falls more than twenty feet in a distance of about twelve miles at the lower rapids.

<sup>56</sup> Official surveys were made at the Des Moines or lower rapids as early as the twenties, with a view to improving the river channel at this point. In the middle forties a plan was proposed "for the construction of a canal to be made by building a wall in the river to form one bank of the canal, the river bank to form the other." The Des Moines Rapids Improvement Company was organized to carry out this plan, but it did not materialize at this time. Between 1867 and 1872, the government constructed at the lower rapids a canal of the type proposed earlier. Mildred L. Hartsough, *From Canoe to Steel Barge on the Upper Mississippi*, 266, 267 (Minneapolis, 1934).

he pass'd us on the Kate Kearny about 10 miles below encamp'd on a beautiful shady beach and wav'd an adieu at passing from the hurricane deck of the steamer for a view of our encampment this evening see page 13. We made this day only 27 miles owing to head winds and stoppages.

July 31 Cook'd breakfast and started early eating on board. stop'd at a log house a mile below and found the bank of alluvial so high and steep that could not land and so we had to take our pint of milk from the *pint* of a fish spear Pass'd a great number of little towns to day on our way most of them beautifully situated and apparently thriving until we came to Quincy.<sup>57</sup> This town does not show very well from the river, but the stranger upon entering is pleasantly surpris'd to find so larg[e] and well built a town. It is laid out in squares evenly and closely built, the side walks well pav'd, as are the streets; and actually well water'd. It looks more like Cincinnati than any other town only that it is cleaner, and that is paying it a great compliment. it contains some 6000 inhabitants and if the people of the place will use energy in introducing manufactories and boat yards it will become the Cin[cinnati] of the Miss undoubtedly, as it is the most beautiful town already.<sup>58</sup> Passing below it 2 miles we encamp on the upper end of an island densely wooded in view of the town. The spot where we encamp was cov[er]'d with a rank growth of wild rye reaching over our heads and pulling a lot of it up we pitch'd our tent and made a very comfortable bed on it.

Aug. 1<sup>st</sup> taking a view of this wild spot (see page 20) we struck our tent and started again[,] the morning being close and foggy and giving promise of a sultry day. It tur[n]'d out a regular roaster and was the hottest day we experienc'd on our rout[e], but I suppose it was nothing to what it was shut up in a lime stone city like St Louis. I thought of my friends there and thank'd my stars I was on the river. We made this day 46 miles, and encamp'd at the upper end of a fa[r]mers improvement which in consequence of having a barn[,] 2 ruin'd sheds, which he call'd warehouses[,] and his cabin

<sup>57</sup> Lewis names the river towns between Nauvoo and Quincy in a table of distances at the back of his diary. They are Montrose, Nashville, and Keokuk, Iowa; Warsaw, Illinois; and "Churchville opposite Warsaw," Fox Prairie, Tully, Canton, La Grange, and "Lone tree prairie," Missouri.

<sup>58</sup> The population of Quincy numbered 6,812 in 1850, according to the census of that year.

besides a bridge over a slue of the most fever and auguish aspect, he dignified by the name of *Gilgal*<sup>59</sup> We got here some fine hay which we spre[a]d on the bottom of our tent and slept luxur[i]ously, also a quart of milk for which I paid 15 cts. So you may judge the sole resident and proprietor of this city, had an eye to his own interests and determin'd that when travellers did stop to look at his town they should pay for it.

Aug<sup>st</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> We started early from Gilgal not much liking our quarters, or our host. our camp with green swamps, and every thing look'd dark and rank. the trees seem'd taller here and thinner in their trunks, as tho' they were of premature growth, and they easily shook with but little wind like one who had the ague. the dogs were sneaky and lank and *yellow* and look'd as tho' they might have had the ague. the children had all white hair—they all have in the Illinois—and they did have it [*ague*] and were shaking away bravely. so altogether I did not like my quarters this night and left early, and if I should ever invest money in Illinois towns it would not be in Gilgas.

Well after rowing some 5 miles we came to the prettily situated town of Louisiana in Missouri for we are once more in that state again having left the Iowa territory at [*blank in MS.*]<sup>60</sup> We kept on our way to Clark[s]ville an old town formerly one [of] the trading posts of the American fur company, and now fast going to decay.<sup>61</sup> I sought for the *oldest* inhabitant but he was not to be found for all those identified with its early history had left, and sought new scenes and ocupations far on the frontiers amongst the indians. the houses were mostly going to decay some had indeed fallen and many would have done so long ago but for the props put agai[n]st them altogether the p[l]ace had a melancholy and tumble down aspect especially as I landed there in a severe rain storm. a mill in

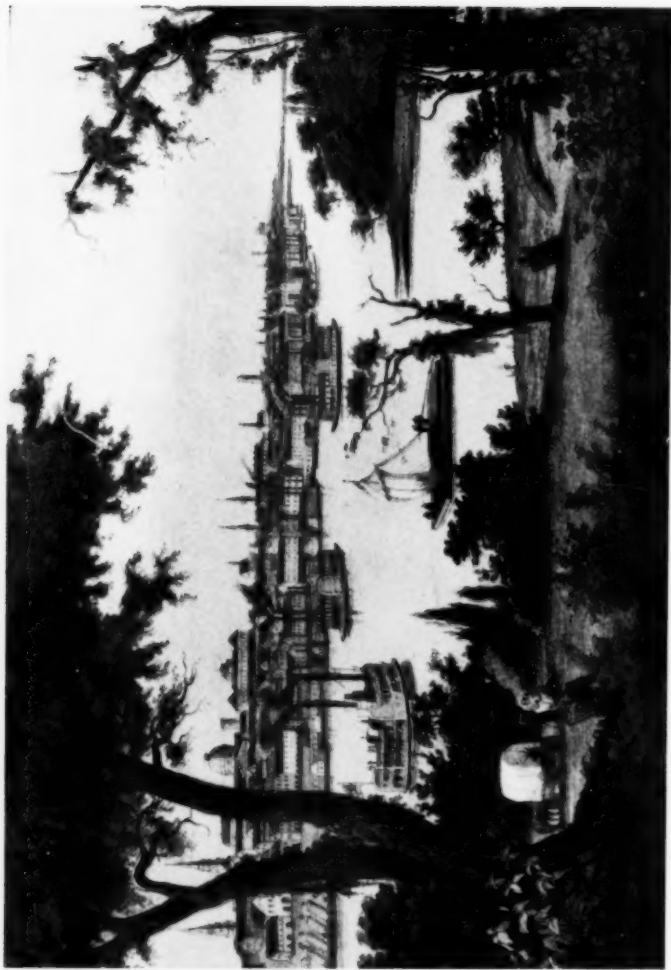
<sup>59</sup> This place probably was in Pike County, Illinois.

<sup>60</sup> This should read Keokuk.

<sup>61</sup> No evidence has been found to support Lewis' statement that Clarks-ville was once a trading post. It is said, however, that it was "built on the site of an old Indian stockade fort used in the War of 1812." The town itself was laid out in 1819 and was named for William Clark, the explorer, who is "supposed to have spent a winter on the site while returning from an expedition to Fort Prairie du Chien." See Esther G. Leech, "The Place-Names of Pike County, Missouri," in *University of Missouri, Studies*, 9: 71 (January 1, 1934).



*J. H. Lewis.*



ST. LOUIS IN 1848

[From a lithograph in Lewis, *Das illustrierte Missisippthal*, 14.]



ruins at the upper end of the town stands boldly out and make[s] the place look quite picturesque. After in vain trying to buy a loaf of bread here I push'd on and rain increasing with premonitory puffings that a gale was coming I began to look out for a place to pitch my tent and lay to till the storm should abate. about 2 miles below the town was a fine sward of grass with some noble elms and sicamore and under the largest of one of the latter I pitch'd my tent[,] the foliage on it being so dense that the rain had not yet penetrated th[r]o the leaves, to wet the ground. but unfortunately I got on a stop [*spot*] a little lower than the surrounding land and as the tempest increas[e]d I found divers very pretty little brooks making their way under my tent and I was compel'd to go into a very extensive system of internal improvements in the shape of canals and embankments to keep myself above high water mark. Thus you see that Missouri spite of all that is said to the contrary does some times go into internal improvments We remain'd here until daylight the next morning, the rain continuing unabated. I extremely regret I did not take a view of this encampment but in the hurry of departure[,] for the wind was fair[,] I forgot it.<sup>62</sup> The tree under which we encamp'd was 34 feet in the girth and would have made a splendid study.

Aug<sup>th</sup> 3 To day we are just one hundred miles from our destination, so that with good luck I hope to be home again in three days from this time. Forty five miles below here I have a friend living and as I promis'd to call on him at passing I must try and reach his house to night and encamp there, and as the wind is fair the men fresh having had a long rest and there being not much to draw on the way, I think I shall be able to do it. The men are singing at their oars. M<sup>r</sup> Rogers is devouring *Domby and Son*. The oldest *sun* of all is shining merrily and scattering to the winds the large masses of clouds that have been kicking up such a commotion and weaving them into thousands of beautiful shapes that would keep a painter at work the ballance of his days studying the birds feeling the influence sing away right gaily and every thing looks fresh and green and fair. Not every thing for yonder in [*is*] a tall and noble tree struck prost[r]ate by the ligh[t]ning of last nights storm. I

<sup>62</sup> Lewis evidently drew from memory a view of Clarksville with the encampment in the foreground which appears in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, 272.

must land and examine it. At least an hundred feet from the root the fluid first struck it shivering it in two nearly to the ground I measur'd the part that was fallen to the upper branches, and found it was 150 feet. the upper branches probably occupied 50 more which would make this noble tree nearly 300 [200?] feet in height. What are mans monuments to this and yet how suddenly struck down after perhaps 2 centuries of life and what a commentary on human efforts and calculations. Had my tent been pitch'd under this tree I should have been crush'd like the worm—under the foot of a giant.

On we go again until we come to the little town of Hamburg [Illinois] beautifully situated on the east side of the river It is a german settlement and is thriving I did not get as good a view of this place as I wish'd owing to a very strong current and side wind dragging me [my] anchor until out of point of view Then we come to Westport [Missouri] but it was such a wee place I did not sketch it—besides it had no picturesque features. We were now approaching Bailies landing<sup>63</sup> see page (35) vol 3) and here I expect to get some information about friend Poppletons residence. I was inform'd it was 5 M below and as the sun was just setting I hurried the men to pull hard and get to camp. I forgot to mention that this Baily's landing is a poor wretched place with most of the people that I saw sooking [looking] decidedly fever and aguish. two little boys came down the steep bank to see our boat, and their little old faces looking so knowing and wan, was a [sic] quite a subject for study I ask'd my companion to notice, what a little old head there was on those young shoulders, and the child heard me and understood me too. He look'd up in my face and running his hands deep into the very bottom of his pockets told me [with] a most singular expression on his countenance that he was going to have a chill this evening but he had come to see my boat first, and then ran off.

Well, after an hours rowing I thought I must be near the house and I hail'd directly out came my friend Poppleton and then an-

<sup>63</sup> In the table of distances at the end of the diary, this place is listed as "Bailies landing, or Cap-o gris." Cap au Gris was a settlement in Lincoln County, Missouri. Lewis relates that the name was that of a rock or cape in the vicinity, in *Das illustrirte Mississippithal*, 270. Sketches of "Cap au Gris and Bailey's Landing" and of a "Rock near Cap au Gris" appear in Lewis' Sketchbook number 1.

other and then another, that it did seem as tho' the little cabin could not hold another soul. I immediately landed and was greeted with a hearty grip from 2 or three friends from St Louis who had come up to meet me and return [*return*] with me on my little boat. It is needless to say we made a night of it here. I pitch'd the tent and after supper over a bucket full of excellent egg *nogg* which our hospitable host had prepar'd for us I recounted my adventures to them and they gave me all the city news. But being anxious to get to St Louis I refus'd a very pressing invitation to stay a day or two spite of fasinating descriptions of hunts and fishing scenes and shooting matches. so striking my tent early next morning I said adieu and taking with me as passengers down my friends Wilkins and Barnett we hoisted our sails and were soon afloat again.<sup>64</sup>

August 4<sup>th</sup> To day was a busy day with us. we had much sketching to do, and the day was intently hot. we began now to feel the oppression of the St Louis summer atmosphere. We made a view of the mouth of the Illinois, and the several sketches of the picturesque bluffs from there to Alton.<sup>65</sup> We came in sight of Alton about four o'clock and the sketch of the place taking a long time to make, we found night upon us and concluded to encamp here instead of [on] the beautiful island below where I had at first intended to have pass'd the night and fortunate indeed would it have been if we could have carried out our first design, as it was we encamped in a deserted log hut nearly opposite the town as my tent was not large enough to contain us all. we moved a number of agricultural instruments we found within out of doors knowing there was no danger of them taking cold but one large plough was too heavy for us and form'd part of the company. I remember that after turning in I slept between the arms of this plough and I had a most singular dream. I thought that I was a large field and that with two yoke of oxen they were plowing me up. I threw my arms wildly about to protect myself from being torn all to pieces and striking one of the handles of the plough woke up and found "it was not all a dream."

<sup>64</sup> One of these individuals may have been James F. Wilkins, an artist whose name is listed in the St. Louis directory for 1848.

<sup>65</sup> The cliffs between Grafton, at the mouth of the Illinois, and Alton are described by Lewis in *Das illustrierte Mississippithal*, 270, 273, 305, and they are pictured on pages 300 and 304. Alton is the subject of an illustration on page 306.

About an hour before daylight an alarm was given that a steam boat was coming up close in shore and would probably run foul of our boat. I hurried out but was too late. the steamer pass'd without touching us, but the swell of the waves was so great that it fill'd our little craft and she sunk as low as she could namely down to the cabin floor. This was the second time we had met with a similar accident but on this particular night I had neglected to take all the things ashore, as was my usual custom, so that many of my things got ruined by the wet. all my sketches were ashore and thus they escaped. After two or three hours hard work we got the boat afloat again and started on our way to St Louis distance 25 miles where we arrived at 4 oclock the same afternoon, passing on rout[e] the mouth of the great river the Missouri of which I made a sketch—and thus ends my canoe journey of 1000 miles on the Mississippi.

## SOME SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

### WILLIAM JOSEPH SNELLING'S WESTERN NARRATIVES

When shortly after his father's death in 1828 William Joseph Snelling left Minnesota and returned to Boston, he embarked almost immediately on a journalistic career which lasted until his own death some twenty years later. Perhaps the peak of his work as a newspaperman was reached in 1847, when he was chosen editor of the *Boston Herald*, an influential metropolitan daily, but in the preceding years he had contributed to many literary periodicals and undoubtedly produced a great deal of writing which is still buried in obscure annuals and gift books. Today Snelling is best known as the author of *Tales of the Northwest*<sup>1</sup> and of the literary satire entitled *Truth; A New Year's Gift for Scribblers*, works at that time unique in their respective genres; but his name remains associated with several articles scattered throughout various magazines. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss that part of Snelling's uncollected work which is pertinent to the Northwest.

One of Snelling's early chores was a species of literary hack work intended for juveniles, much as Hawthorne wrote historical summaries for Peter Parley, who was the publisher, S. G. Goodrich. Under the pseudonym of Solomon Bell, "Late Keeper of the Traveller's Library, Province-House Court, Boston," Snelling wrote a number of travel digests dealing with the adventures of explorers in the West, in Africa, and in the far North.<sup>2</sup> These books were couched

<sup>1</sup> This work, which was reprinted recently with an introduction by Mr. Flanagan, is reviewed *post*, p. 450-452. *Ed.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tales of Travel in Central Africa* (Boston, 1830); *Tales of Travel in the North of Europe* (Boston, 1831); *Tales of Travel West of the*

in the simplest of styles and were little more than factual recountings of the exploits of celebrated travelers. Typical is the volume entitled *Tales of Travel West of the Mississippi*, in which Snelling addressed his preface "To My Little Readers" and proceeded to describe the terrain and the animals of the West: the prairies, a prairie fire, buffalo, elk, beaver, and the like. Then followed a bare narrative of the Lewis and Clark expedition, an account of Major Long's journey to the head of the Arkansas River, and an epitome of John Jewitt's captivity among the Indians of Puget Sound. For the most part Snelling employed the simplest chronological method; he made no attempt to embroider the incidents and was content to write in the lucid, colorless style which was once thought suitable to children. Of the vivid personality of the real author there is no trace. He had not seen the regions he described and he could only trust the explorers' words.

A little later Snelling began his association with Joseph Buckingham, editor of the *New-England Magazine*, and became a more or less regular contributor to that periodical. Among the works that may be ascribed to his pen are two short stories which are comparable in theme and excellence to those which appeared in *Tales of the Northwest*. Although they are unsigned, there is conclusive evidence that they came from Snelling's hand. He was listed by the editor himself as one of the chief contributors;<sup>3</sup> signed work by him does appear in several volumes of the *New-England Magazine*; there was no other person on the staff, and perhaps none in New England, who had at once the experience and the skill necessary to write such sketches of aboriginal life; and, finally, the resemblance between these stories and the previously published ones is too close to be accidental.

*Mississippi* (Boston, 1831); *Polar Regions of the Western Continent Explored* (Boston, 1831).

<sup>3</sup> Joseph T. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life*, 2:76 (Boston, 1852).

"The Fortunes of Mendokaycheenah" is the story of a Sioux brave who offered himself as a vicarious victim to white man's justice.<sup>4</sup> The original offender had killed a *voyageur* near the mouth of the St. Croix and had then made good his escape. The tribe, after admitting complicity in the offense, had delivered the criminal to the traders below Fort Snelling; but these men had refused to try him and had shipped him down the river to Prairie du Chien. Mendokaycheenah was in charge of the native escort of the prisoner. One night en route to the Wisconsin fort the prisoner escaped, and Mendokaycheenah, panic-stricken over his negligence, offered himself to the commandant at Prairie du Chien to appease white vengeance. The offer, of course, was refused, but Mendokaycheenah disdained to accept his liberty and continued eastward, arguing his right to die before the officers at Michilimackinac and Detroit. Finally he was brought before Sir William Johnson, was sent to Canada, and was there exonerated to his own satisfaction by the governor-general. Upon returning to his people, Mendokaycheenah was honored and revered; later he died in an Indian raid while making a futile defense of goods which traders had left under his protection.

The second story, "Shoankah Shahpah," recounts the adventures of an ill-favored Sioux brave (his name in translation means Dirty Dog) who was scorned and practically ostracized by his own tribe because of his appearance.<sup>5</sup> Even his mother could hardly stand his sight, for,

Shoankah Shahpah came into the world halting; that is, one of his legs was shorter than the other. His eyes were of a delicate gooseberry green; he squinted; his nose was too small, his mouth too large, and his neck too short. Besides, his back approximated very nearly to a hump. In short, he was the ugliest boy ever seen.

Yet with this unprepossessing exterior Shoankah Shahpah was furnished with a quick, perceptive mind. And finally,

<sup>4</sup> *New-England Magazine*, 3:290-296 (October, 1832).

<sup>5</sup> *New-England Magazine*, 4:187-195 (March, 1833).

when the indignities heaped upon him had become too much to endure, he left his home and entered the encampment of the Sandy Lake Chippewa, prepared to die. But there he was welcomed, adopted into the tribe, and given all the privileges of the warrior. One day the Kahpozahs, his own band, assaulted the Chippewa and butchered Shoankah Shahpah's wife and daughter. Enraged and hungry for vengeance, the exile led a Chippewa war party to Nicollet Island and there enticed the Kahpozahs to pursue him in canoes over the Falls of St. Anthony. He himself perished, wrestling with his brother as they hurtled over the cataract. Legend, said the author, claimed that their cries could still be heard in the death plunge, their spirits still seen.

Another interesting Indian tale from Snelling's pen, "Te Zahpahtah, A Sketch from Indian History," appeared in *The Token*.<sup>6</sup> In this story, the action of which takes place about 1795 in the horseshoe formed by the confluence of the Minnesota and Blue Earth rivers, the trader Henri La Roque arrived at the wigwams of Te Zahpahtah (the Five Lodges) to bargain for furs. He had brought with him two barrels of alcohol, one of which he proposed to give to his customers. Over the protests of Chief Chundopah, who envisaged bloodshed, the proposal was accepted and trading commenced. The women had taken the usual precautions of hiding all the weapons, but had neglected to cache the bows and arrows. Thus, when the first merriment and boisterousness had worn off and the savages desired more of the "minnee wawkon" (supernatural water) at any price, quarrels began, one of the braves was killed by a drunken companion, and the war whoop sounded to the peril of the whole community. Chief Chundopah attempted valiantly to restore order and eventually succeeded, at the cost of his own life. When the savages finally regained their senses, they

<sup>6</sup> *The Token*, 143-151 (Boston, 1831).



resolved to make the trader suffer. But La Roque, a *bois brûlé* and hence familiar with Indian custom, forestalled their revenge. Stripping himself and painting himself black, he suddenly descended the river into the encampment and placed himself at the mercy of the warriors. They, unwilling to hurt an unarmed person, washed off the black paint and made peace with the trader. La Roque immediately offered presents to propitiate the dead. Peace ensued, and when La Roque himself passed away his children succeeded him as Indian traders.

In one other tale did Snelling make artistic use of his Northwest experience, the amusing story entitled "A Night in the Woods."<sup>7</sup> Although shorn of its details it loses its chief effect and although Snelling undoubtedly derived the substance from some fantastic legend rather than from fact, its use of frontier materials is interesting and authentic. The argument concerns a buffalo hunter who went after his prey in midwinter and killed an old bull, but only after he had chased the animal to the middle of a pond and had lost his gun in the process. Thus the hunter was left defenseless some twenty miles from any shelter in zero weather. Eventually he bethought himself of skinning his prey and wrapping himself in the hide, hair inward. This done, he fell asleep. The rest of the tale concerns his dreams and the strange creatures who inhabited them: a whole herd of buffalo prancing around him led by the old bull minus his epidermis, howling and cavorting wolves, a raven with a great beak, and multitudes of terpsichorean fleas. About the time the sleeper awoke, a young Indian appeared on the scene and helped to extricate him from his protective wrapping. But the hunter was more than puzzled to learn upon awakening that wolves had eaten the carcass of the slain animal while he slept and that a herd of buffalo had left their imprints on the snow around him.

<sup>7</sup> *The Boston Book*, 40-48 (Boston, 1836).

These stories are remarkable for their vigor and economy of style. As a narrator Snelling appears at his best in "Te Zahpahtah," the simple realism of which is heightened by the sparseness of the language. Restraint was not always a virtue with him and he was occasionally unable to reject emotional and didactic elements which weakened the narrative fiber. But in the four tales here summarized the reader is impressed by the basic relevancy of the details—even when La Roque is regaled with a singed and boiled dog, wild rice, and raccoon tallow—and the harmony between style and theme. Snelling knew his background and sketched it deftly. These tales also prove that he possessed one quality which his earlier work conspicuously lacks: a sense of humor. No one could have written that extravaganza called "A Night in the Woods" without a feeling for comic effect. The protean changes of the figures in the dream, the buffalo becoming wolves and the raven's beak being transformed into an oboe to which the ensemble dance, and finally the vindictive buffalo tossing their collective fleas on the man who had massacred their leader—this is the grand stuff of burlesque. Snelling revealed in *Truth* that his sense of irony was rich and sharp. He apparently could also relish slapstick comedy.

In a few other sketches and articles Snelling evinced his interest in the Northwest, whether it was in emigration toward the Pacific coast or in fragments transliterated from his own life.<sup>8</sup> Invariably he wrote honestly, directly, force-

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, an article entitled "Oregon Territory" and signed W. J. S., in the *New-England Magazine*, 2:123-132 (February, 1832); "Running the Gantlet," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1:439-456 (1872); and "Early Days at Prairie du Chien, and the Winnebago Outbreak of 1827," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 5:123-153 (1907). In the *New-England Magazine* there are at least two other items which are probably Snelling's—"Rare Beasts," 2:210-217, and "A Sketch of Indian Character," 3:462-470 (March, December, 1832). A significant sentence in the first article reads as follows "We had one [prairie wolf] at Lac Au Travers, that we attempted to harness with the dogs." It is perhaps needless to remark that Snelling, in his days as a trapper and trader, resided near Lake Traverse.

fully, with little of the prolixity and sentimentalism of the contemporary *littérateur*. It may be that other work of his creation will yet be exhumed before the files of the magazines in which it is concealed crumble to dust. But even if such were not the case, William Joseph Snelling has left enough reputable work behind him to justify his being called the first literary interpreter of the Northwest.

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## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### JOHN McLOUGHLIN, JR., AND THE DICKSON FILIBUSTER

One of the most mysterious characters in Minnesota's history is "General" James Dickson. His story has been told on a number of occasions.<sup>1</sup> One of the latest versions appeared as a novel of "best selling" quality, *The Phantom Emperor*, by Neil H. Swanson (New York, 1934). Though some fiction is added to the tale, as told in that volume, the book gives in general a fair outline of Dickson's career and of his "army," with which he planned to fall upon Santa Fé and establish himself as an emperor in the Southwest.

Bits of information on Dickson and his men keep coming to light. The most recent discovery is the correspondence of one of the participants in the expedition, John McLoughlin, Jr., the half-breed son of that Dr. John McLoughlin whose career as a fur trader in Minnesota and the adjacent parts of Canada has been overshadowed by his fame as an administrator and friend of immigrants in the Oregon country.

These letters form part of a large collection of the correspondence of various members of the McLoughlin and Fraser families, one group of which appeared in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for December, 1935.<sup>2</sup> These cover the years from 1805 to 1826 in Dr. McLoughlin's life

<sup>1</sup> See Martin McLeod's diary of the expedition, *ante*, 4: 351-439; other documents from or about the expedition, in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 10: 264-273 (September, 1923); "The Dickson Filibuster," *ante*, 8: 77; and Anna Heloise Abel, ed., *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839*, 117 (Pierre, 1932).

<sup>2</sup> The entire body of manuscripts is now preserved in McLoughlin House, Oregon City. A notice of their publication may be found *ante*, 17: 111.

and were edited by Jane Lewis Chapin. They add many details to the Minnesota career of the doctor as well as to other phases of his young manhood. In her preface the editor remarks on other material recently made available on this part of McLoughlin's life, but she omits two sources that might be mentioned: Dr. McLoughlin's own account of the fur trade of the Fort William-Lake of the Woods area written about 1805 and now in the Redpath Library of McGill University in Montreal; and a series of his reports of the early twenties from the Hudson's Bay Company's fort on Rainy Lake, now filed in Hudson's Bay House, London. These last are being used by the present writer in the preparation of an article on the Rainy Lake trading posts.

The March issue of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* carries on the story of Dr. McLoughlin and his family to 1849. In this group of letters are found several by young John. They afford, what has been lacking hitherto, a complete explanation of a member's motive for joining the Dickson expedition. One other member, Martin McLeod, reveals his motives, but only partially, in his papers and diary.

Young McLoughlin's letters and the correspondence occasioned by them set forth a story now prosaic, now full of high adventure. After several years in Paris as a medical student living with his paternal uncle, he returned to Canada in bad repute with his relatives for being an idler and a spendthrift. After he had spent several months in Canada without completing his medical course and had been refused money by his family, he applied to Sir George Simpson for a place in the ranks of Hudson's Bay Company employees. He was refused both that favor and a place in the brigade of canoes en route to Oregon. These facts account for the young man's acceptance of General James Dickson's offer of a place as "major" in his "army." One letter from the young man, written from La Pointe on October 11, 1836, to his cousin, John Fraser, describes his trip to that place.

It also reveals something of the mentality of the young half-breed, especially his concern for duly impressing upon others the rank that he had achieved so quickly and easily:

I wish you would do me a favor that is to order at Boulanget an uniform of Cavalry for me for the Spring to send up by Mr Mackenzie and the Money will be send down early in the Spring by one of our party going down with dispatches the coat must be red work with silver lace on the chest and collar with large silver epauletts and two pair of pantaloons one black and the other the same as those he already made for me, with gold lace on the sides. In fact just an English Life guard dress do not be afraid of the Expense.

Other letters in the correspondence of the Fraser and McLoughlin families refer to General Dickson's plan to capture Santa Fé, to his worthless character, and to other phases of the enterprise. Most enlightening, perhaps, for the student of Dickson's enterprise is a statement in John Fraser's letter to Dr. McLoughlin, written from Terrebonne on April 13, 1837:

You will learn from all quarters that your Son John left Montreal last July, to join one named Dixon, whom he qualified the title of General Dixon. He, this individual had collected Twenty Young Men in the United States along with five from this Province all born in the Hudson Bay's Company territories to proceed and meet him at Waterloo U. S. on 1st Augt & from thence to proceed to Santa Fee Mexico by the way of Lake Superior and continue their Expedition inland, engaging the Natives to join as they went along, and endeavour to take St Fee by surprise.

The fact that twenty of the expedition had been recruited in the United States is new information and it throws some light on Dickson's methods.

It has been a matter of conjecture what happened to young McLoughlin after Dickson's expedition petered out at the Red River settlements. It appears from his letters that he spent the winter of 1837-38 at Fort Vancouver; crossed Canada to Norway House in the spring and early summer of 1838; was very ill in the spring of 1839; went East again that summer; and in 1840 established Fort Sti-

kine. There on April 20, 1842, he was murdered by one of his own men. He appears to have shown great aptitude for a trader's life, in contrast to his half-hearted attempts to become a physician. In this respect he seems to have been a chip of the old block, for his father, though a qualified doctor, seldom practiced, and won his fame as a trader.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*Copying Manuscripts: Rules Worked Out by the Minnesota Historical Society (Special Bulletins, II).* Manuscript division, GRACE LEE NUTE, curator. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1935. 19 p.)

*The Care and Cataloguing of Manuscripts, As Practiced by the Minnesota Historical Society (Special Bulletins, IV).* Manuscript division, GRACE LEE NUTE, curator. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1936. xi, 65 p. Illustrations.)

American librarians in the last two generations have evolved a catalogue technique for the listing of books in libraries which ranks in the intellectual world with the great technical accomplishments of American manufacturing. The two great classification systems, — Dewey and Library of Congress, — the Cutter numbering system, and the standardization of form of catalogue cards have not only developed technically to the point where they are used and understood by thousands of librarians and by millions of readers, but they have become practically interchangeable parts of a national system of record. The next great technical problem will lie in the field of the control by depositories of their resources of unpublished material, and here technique stands today where the technique of book cataloguing stood fifty years ago.

In different centers different schemes have been used for the cataloguing of unpublished material, and national standardization has not yet developed. A long step in the direction of doing for manuscript resources what Dewey and Cutter did for book resources has been made by the Minnesota Historical Society. When the *Guide to the Personal Papers in the Manuscript Collections* appeared in 1935, the historian could see concretely before him the product of a firm, consistent, and intelligent technique in the listing and organizing of manuscript materials. Now, in the volume prepared by Miss Nute on the *Care and Cataloguing of Manuscripts*, the internal procedures which made possible the preparation of the *Guide* are explained with accuracy and economy, but with an amount of detail that leaves nothing to be desired.



There are nine major classifications in the Minnesota scheme: (1) personal papers, (2) archives of organizations, (3) miscellaneous source material, (4) transcripts and photostatic copies of materials in public depositories, (5) calendars and field reports, (6) secondary material, (7) broadsides, (8) autographs, and (9) manuscript maps. The librarian can see at once that these classifications are a combination of what would be regarded as form and subject groupings, with the element of form predominating.

There are five types of control in the Minnesota system: the accessions list, catalogue card, shelf list card, calendar card, and inventory sheet. The catalogue cards are made in sufficient numbers to permit their use in a regular subject and author catalogue. There seems to be no reason why libraries and historical societies adopting the Minnesota system cannot include cards for their manuscript materials with cards for their book and periodical materials.

The handbook contains copies of form letters used in gift and deposit contracts, instructions on cleaning and repairing manuscripts and on mounting maps, and illustrations of the manuscript boxes and files that are used. Even an organization that has worked out an entirely different method for the care and cataloguing of manuscripts cannot afford to be without this thorough and practical guide.

The rules for the copying of manuscripts have fortunately been issued separately. Many people may wish to copy manuscripts for typescript or publication, but have no need to concern themselves with the care and cataloguing of them. Editorial practice in the copying of manuscripts has never been standardized. The rules defined by Miss Nute are a compromise between the most rigorous reproduction of a manuscript and an intelligent editorial technique. "Modern punctuation and capitalization are used in all doubtful cases"; the bracket and the question mark and the *sic* serve to convey to the reader of the copy the contribution that the copyist adds to the original. The code of symbols used in describing the original manuscript—A.D.S. for autograph document signed, A.Df.S. for autograph draft signed, L.B.C.P. for letter book copy (press), etc.—should be studied for adoption by editors and librarians generally.

The reviewer has two suggestions of small import. First, in the making of catalogue cards, the symbol for "leaf" is the small letter *l*. Since on the typewriter this is identical with the Arabic numeral "one," it has become necessary to write the *l* in longhand on

the catalogue cards. Would it not be possible to represent the word "leaf" with a symbol that can be found on the typewriter keyboard? Second, in the rules for the copying of manuscripts, there is an opportunity to give some elementary instruction in the reading of handwriting, which is needed by more people than one would suspect. An unfamiliar handwriting can usually be broken down by setting up an alphabet of capital and small letters and identifying for each letter the form used by the original writer and the movement of his hand. While this suggestion may not belong properly in the rules for copying manuscripts, its inclusion would probably diminish the number of cases in which the copyist would be compelled to confess that certain words were illegible.

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*Tales of the Northwest.* By WILLIAM JOSEPH SNELLING. With an introduction by JOHN T. FLANAGAN. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1936. xxix, 254 p. \$3.50.)

Thomas Carlyle, having read a volume of early American travels, wrote excitedly to Emerson: "All American libraries ought to provide themselves with that kind of book; and keep them as a future biblical article." Such a work is Snelling's *Tales of the Northwest*. The author, son of the colonel in whose honor old Fort St. Anthony was rechristened Fort Snelling, was from 1821 to 1827 a hunter and trader in the present states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas. Returning to the East, he published his *Tales* in 1830. Too realistic to be popular at the moment, the book attracted small notice; with the passing of a century, copies became extremely rare; recently it has been ignored even in special studies of the frontier and the Indian. But now, reprinted at last, the *Tales* command the attention of everyone concerned with the history of the Northwest or of American letters, with Indian lore or frontier fiction.

Here the historian will find detailed and honest studies not only of wilderness manners but more particularly of racial character and interracial conflict — sketches intensified by the frequent use of contrast. Placed in opposition are an honorable English trader and a heroic rascal of a *voyageur*; a superb half-breed and his corrupt white contemporaries; stupidly arrogant Sacs and merciless Frenchmen; mo-

tiveless red murderers and their futile white prosecutors; two wronged husbands, one generous and the second rashly vengeful. Sanely rejecting the contemporary delusions that all Indians were heroes "insensible of fear," that they spoke only in epigram or eloquence, that they made "glory and honor" the very "breath of their nostrils," Snelling treats them as "barbarous, ignorant men" with passions "more furious than ours, because unrestrained by principle." The chief characteristic of such aborigines, he concludes with a white man's logic, is inconsistency ("No certain judgment can be formed of an Indian's future conduct from his past"). And equally characteristic, as the tales reveal, is the Indian's disregard for human life, either another's or his own. Only an expert in the history of the Northwest can pass final judgment on these frontier portraits; but to a layman they bear all the marks of authenticity.

Students of literature will find Snelling of particular interest as a pioneer in the field of the short story. Since that literary genre was not yet definitely established, his efforts must be judged leniently. There was then no definite line of demarcation between essay and tale, for Irving could combine the two under one generic name in the *Sketch Book* (1821) and Hawthorne could give to a miscellany of essays and short narratives the title, *Twice-Told Tales* (1837). Furthermore, no one in 1830 understood the difference between brief narratives and the modern short story—not until Poe reached the height of his powers were true short stories deliberately created. It is natural, therefore, that *Tales of the Northwest* should contain mangled fragments of a novel, series of loosely connected and even unconnected anecdotes, and a few crude progenitors of the short story as we know it. Snelling's style is as outmoded as his narrative technique: when he writes naturally, he is prosaic; when he attempts smartness or polish, he is painful. Only when action or emotion lifts him out of himself does Snelling show hints of creative power. Of such passages, the editor remarks, "In 1830 no American save Cooper wrote better narrative"—praise not as extravagant as it might appear to be, for in 1830 Cooper (inept as he himself frequently was) had few rivals in America. In short, *Tales of the Northwest*, to be enjoyed fully or evaluated justly, must be read not as world literature but as a historical exhibit. As such, the book is highly creditable to a one-time trapper whose formal education ended with two years at West Point.

Congratulations and thanks are due Mr. Flanagan and the University of Minnesota Press for reprinting the *Tales*. Mr. Flanagan has provided a sound introduction, helpful even to readers who are already familiar with the tales. Although little has heretofore been known concerning Snelling or his book, the editor has built up from various sources an illuminating account of the author's residence in Minnesota and of the publication of his *Tales*, has indicated the place of the book among historical narratives of this region, and has written the first significant appraisal of Snelling as an author. The University of Minnesota Press has made of the *Tales* a handsome volume, carefully designed and meticulously executed — set in agreeable type, printed on attractive paper, and strikingly bound.

Every schoolboy in Minnesota and its neighboring states should be interested in a story or two from Snelling; general readers will enjoy dipping into his pages; and students of local history must of course read the book from cover to cover. The *Tales*, therefore, should find their way into every school and public library in this section and into many a home. If the volume is thus given the welcome it deserves, the University of Minnesota Press will undoubtedly be encouraged to reprint other "biblical" items of the Northwest and perhaps even to transcribe unrecorded folklore of the Indians, lumberjacks, and immigrants of the upper Mississippi Valley.

TREMAINE McDOWELL

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volume 4: *The Territory South of the River Ohio, 1790-1796*. (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1936. ix, 517 p. \$1.75.)

The fourth volume of this important series exhibits the same high standard of scholarly preparation which characterized the earlier ones, but materials at the disposal of the editor were far more limited in quantity and in variety. Primarily responsible for this relative paucity of documents is the very short time that elapsed between North Carolina's cession of her western lands to form the Southwest Territory and the admission of Tennessee as a state in the Union. Then, too, the problems confronting Governor Blount, who was chief executive of the territory during its whole existence, were almost all of a

single type — Indian affairs, which, in the volumes on the Northwest Territory, occupied little space. As the editor states in his preface (p. iv) "When the publication of *The Territorial Papers of the United States* was inaugurated it was determined as a matter of policy to exclude the major portion of those papers in the archives relating to Indian affairs." Two factors induced this policy: Indian tribes were not confined by territorial boundaries; the volume of papers would be too great to publish. Departure from the general plan for this volume, however, was determined upon because "in the present instance Indian policies and defense constituted the prime interest both of the territorial and Federal governments, which inevitably affected territorial civil administration and pushed it into the background." Selection of documents has been judiciously made to illustrate the problems of a frontier bordering and frequently encroaching upon the lands of powerful southern tribes; incidentally it brings out once more the brutality and treachery on both sides when hardy frontiersmen were trying to push back the aboriginal inhabitants.

Obviously this volume has little if anything to offer for the history of the Northwest. It does, however, help complete the picture of the nation in its adolescent stages.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions.*

By GEORGE F. G. STANLEY, D.Phil. (London, New York, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1936. xiv, 475 p. Illustrations, maps. 15s.)

Although this book deals primarily with developments on the Canadian prairie, no student of the American Northwest can afford to neglect it. We can cut cake with a knife, but we cannot do the same to history, for it is a living growth. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more apparent than in North America, where an artificial boundary divides Canada from the United States, two countries inhabited by the same people. The advance of English-speaking civilization across the continent cannot be sliced along this line. True there are some differences, but these are contrasts which have a significance exceeded only by that of the striking parallels.

Mr. Stanley's work is of first-class importance, because of his sub-

ject and because of the way in which he has handled it. Two serious convulsions accompanied the birth of Western Canada, the Riel rebellions, that of Manitoba in 1869-70 and of Saskatchewan in 1885. The same causes produced both—the pressure of a mature culture upon a primitive one, and the almost criminal negligence of the government in Ottawa. The half-breed children of the retreating fur trade, led by the most brilliant member of their race, struck to avert the impending doom. The first time they won a hollow victory, and the second time they met full defeat. Because of racial and religious repercussions in Eastern Canada, much ink and more temper have been wasted upon this subject, and the author has had to waste much of his time in wading through the enormous literature these two uprisings produced. He has also ransacked the archives on both sides of the Atlantic, the Public Record Office and the Hudson's Bay Company's archives in London, the Public Archives of Canada and the papers of the department of Indian affairs and of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Ottawa, and the correspondence of the state department in Washington. In addition, he has pored over the newspapers of the day and drawn upon local tradition.

In digesting this material, the author has displayed a judgment as patient as his industry. Few Eastern Canadians have been able to touch the subject without prejudice or the fear of it, but Mr. Stanley, a former Rhodes scholar from Western Canada, is untainted by the prejudices current in the older parts of the Dominion. In his preface, he strikes a new note. Protesting against the many who, in writing on this theme, "have regarded the valleys of the Red and the Saskatchewan rivers as the western battle ground of the traditional hostilities of French Catholic Quebec and English Protestant Ontario," he wisely remarks that "the significance of those troubles which marked the early history of Western Canada is to be found rather in their connexion with the general history of the frontier than with the ethnic relationships of Quebec and Ontario." Taking this independent stand, he is able to deal out sympathy and criticism with a free hand. As a result, he has given us what has long been desired, an authoritative study of the Riel rebellions.

The only unsatisfactory chapter, in the opinion of the reviewer, is the last, devoted to the political results of the 1885 affair. Mr. Stanley rightly observes that the Saskatchewan rebellion "was far more important in its results than in itself," but he could not explain these

adequately without giving them many times the space he has allowed. In the concluding chapter on the Red River rebellion, he mentions D'Alton McCarthy's attempt to bridle the wild Orangemen of Ontario, but he ignores that gentleman's much more important and very opposite actions inspired by the Saskatchewan rising. McCarthy then blew up a furious storm in Ontario which reacted in Manitoba to precipitate the school question, which in turn reacted on older Canada with tremendous effect. One outcome was the end of clerical interference in politics.

The reader will find this a delightful book, for the author's style is polished and not infrequently adorned by arresting phrases and figures of speech. For example, he calls the railway a steel knife thrust through the heart of native society. The reviewer would give the exact words if he could turn back to the passage easily. There appears to be no reference to this effect of the railway in the index, which is better for names than for subjects.

A. L. BURT

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

*Art in Wisconsin: The Art Experience of the Middle West Frontier.*

By PORTER BUTTS, M.A., asst. professor of social education,  
University of Wisconsin. With a preface by DR. OSKAR F. L.  
HAGEN. (Madison, 1936. xi, 213 p. Illustrations. \$1.25.)

"To recount one aspect of a community's cultural evolution"—the development of painting within the borders of a midwest commonwealth—is the task undertaken by the author of the present volume. The book is his contribution to the Wisconsin centennial celebration, arranged to mark the passing of a century since the territory was organized in 1836 (see *ante*, p. 344). Appropriately, the book includes the catalogue of the Wisconsin Centennial Art Exhibition, held at Madison from June 8 to July 6. Mr. Butts sketches his story against a background of American frontier history. Economic, social, and cultural aspects of pioneer life are considered, enabling him to produce, according to Dr. Hagen, what is "in a measure . . . a sociology of American art."

Two chapters dealing with general cultural developments on the frontier are followed by one on the "Painter Reporters" of the Middle West. Here Mr. Butts uses as his theme an idea set forth in

earlier publications by Harold Stark, that the "first incursions of art into the wilderness" were made by painters who furnished "records for patrons hundreds or thousands of miles removed." In this category the author places the artists who pictured frontier scenery and the red man in his primitive glory — Samuel Seymour, James O. Lewis, Seth Eastman, Peter Rindisbacher, Paul Kane, Carl Wimar, J. M. Stanley, and George Catlin, who is aptly termed the "Audubon of American Indian painting." Another chapter is devoted to "Panorama Scene Painting," which is described as a "genuinely native American folk art" that "in all essential respects except for the moving actors, was the antecedent of the moving picture." Special attention is given to the work of two Mississippi panoramists, John Banvard and Henry Lewis, who pictured the upper river, including many Wisconsin and Minnesota sites, in the late forties. Lewis has been introduced to readers of this magazine during the last few months through the medium of his "Journal." It is interesting to note that paintings from his brush in the collections of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and the Minnesota Historical Society were included in the Centennial Art Exhibition at Madison.

In later chapters Mr. Butts deals with portrait painting, European influences on frontier art after 1850, the study of art as a factor in the cultural development of the West, and the "Significance of the Frontier" in the history of American painting. Art schools, art exhibitions, and art collections are among the subjects touched upon. Some mention is made of sculpture, but in general this subject, like architecture, weaving, metal work, and other forms of artistic endeavor, has been neglected. The title leads the reader to look for accounts of these subjects and the author himself admits that "it would be more satisfactory . . . if a discussion of folk arts and the arts of design and architecture could be joined with painting." For "purposes of a beginning," however, he offers this study of painting in Wisconsin as "illustrative of the frontier art experience." It is to be hoped that in time he will expand both the geographic and artistic scope of his study. In the meantime, he has succeeded admirably in disproving the erroneous idea that "until quite recently the frontier states were an artless wilderness."

BERTHA L. HEILBRON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL



*Laur. Larsen, Pioneer College President.* By KAREN LARSEN, professor of history at St. Olaf College. (Northfield, Minnesota, Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1936. viii, 358 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

The story of our emigrant forefathers, no matter from what land they came, is always an interesting part of our historical literature. The biography of Laur. Larsen, pioneer clergyman and college president, is not only the life story of one such emigrant, but it is also the history of a great Lutheran educational institution — Luther College at Decorah, Iowa. Larsen came to America from his native Norway in the middle of the nineteenth century, and his life from that time on was bound up in the spiritual and cultural development of his fellow Norwegians in the upper Mississippi Valley. From 1857 to 1859 Larsen had charge of a pastorate at Rush River, Wisconsin, and, in addition, he ministered to the spiritual needs of the hundreds of Norwegian Lutherans scattered in small settlements over a large part of western Wisconsin and Minnesota. In the fall of 1859, when the Norwegian Lutherans of the upper Mississippi Valley joined forces with the German-Americans of the Missouri Synod to train men for the ministry, Larsen was selected to fill the professorship which the Norwegians set up at Concordia College in St. Louis. Luther College was established in 1861, and Larsen became its first president. He was the guiding spirit of its existence at Halfway Creek, Wisconsin, where the college was temporarily located for a year, and his persistent efforts were largely responsible for its continuance at Decorah in the lean years immediately following 1862, when the slavery controversy raged bitterly within the church. As college president for forty-one years and as editor of the official organ of the synod, *Evangelisk luthersk kirketidende*, Larsen played an important part in the history of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America.

The chapter dealing with Larsen's missionary travels through Minnesota in the fifties is especially pertinent to Minnesota history, and Luther College at Decorah is so close to Minnesota's soil and has played so large a part in the education of the state's Norwegian-American youth that the book should be of interest to Minnesotans generally.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
ST. PAUL

*The Winona State Teachers College: Historical Notes, 1910-1935.*

Edited by ERWIN S. SELLE. ([Winona, 1936]. 158 p. Illustrations.)

The Winona State Teachers College was among the pioneer teacher-training institutions in the United States, being the third to be established in the Middle West. This book is intended primarily as a record of the last twenty-five of its seventy-five years of existence. It is not a systematic history of the college, but a description of the curriculum changes made since 1910, with a catalogue of student organizations and activities, the professional staff, and gifts to the college.

Approximately a third of the book is devoted to the details of curriculum change. These details at times threaten to obscure the real story of curriculum growth, which shows that Winona State Teachers College, in common with other educational institutions of its kind, met an increasing competition from junior colleges and the state university by increasing specialization and a more thorough preparation of its students. There was specialization, not only in the functions of the college, but in the courses offered to the student. Along with this went a rise in standards. In 1910 the high school department was one of the most important features of the college. The course of study was a composite of high school and education subjects. In 1912 a clear differentiation was made between the course for high school graduates and that for high school pupils. Later the course of study was lengthened until, in 1922, the college was prepared to offer a four-year course leading to the degree of bachelor of arts in education. The preoccupation of the staff with these changes is reflected in the book, which gives a complete record of the changes in the curriculum, but does not pretend to discuss the causes, significance, or the influences of those changes. This does not derogate from the value of the book. There is much of interest in it, particularly in the record of student activities and organizations. The book has achieved its main purpose — that of picturing a cross section of the current life of the school.

LEWIS BEESON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
MINNEAPOLIS

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Mr. John T. Flanagan ("Mark Twain on the Upper Mississippi" and "William Joseph Snelling's Western Narratives") is instructor in English at the University of Minnesota. He is the editor of a new edition of Snelling's *Tales of the Northwest*, which is reviewed in this number of the magazine by his colleague in the English department, Professor Tremaine McDowell. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen ("Some Sources for St. Croix Valley History") is the superintendent of the society. Professor George M. Stephenson ("Sidelights on the History of the Swedes in the St. Croix Valley") is the biographer of John Lind and the leading authority on Swedish immigration to America. Miss Marjorie Edgar ("Finnish Charms and Folk Songs in Minnesota") has made a careful, firsthand study in northern Minnesota of Finnish literature and folklore. She is well known as a writer and lecturer on this subject. Miss Ruby Karstad ("The 'New York Tribune' and the Minnesota Frontier") is a teacher of history in the Staples High School. Dr. Grace Lee Nute ("John McLoughlin, Jr., and the Dickson Filibuster") is curator of manuscripts on the society's staff. Writers of book reviews, in addition to Professor McDowell, include Dr. Robert C. Binkley, professor of history in Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Professors Lester B. Shippee and A. L. Burt of the department of history in the University of Minnesota; Miss Bertha L. Heilbron and Mr. Arthur J. Larsen, both of the society's staff; and Mr. Lewis Beeson, a graduate student at the University of Minnesota.

The eighty-eighth annual meeting of the society will be held on January 18. Outstanding features of the day's sessions will be the seventeenth annual local history conference, a luncheon program, and the annual address. Under the bylaws of the society, the annual meeting in a legislative year is held on the second Monday following the convening of the legislature.

Number 4 of the society's series of *Special Bulletins*, a newly issued manual on *The Care and Cataloguing of Manuscripts as Practiced by*

*the Minnesota Historical Society* (65 p.) is reviewed in the present issue of this magazine. In commenting on this publication in a recent letter to the superintendent, Dr. Solon J. Buck, director of publications for the National Archives, remarks: "The Minnesota plan is, I believe, the first systematic and workable plan for the adequate classification and cataloging of large collections of manuscripts that has been worked out, and the bulletin describes this plan and other features of your work with manuscripts so clearly and in such detail that it is now possible for other institutions to take advantage of the experience of the Minnesota Historical Society and to apply that experience to their own problems with such adaptations as circumstances may require."

The diary kept by Henry Lewis, traveler, artist, and panoramist, during a voyage from the Falls of St. Anthony to St. Louis in the summer of 1848, which has appeared in installments in three issues of MINNESOTA HISTORY under the title "Making a Motion Picture in 1848," has been reprinted in book form (58 p.). A few revisions and additions have been made; for example, a note on the artist's use of the name "Minnehaha" and a reproduction of his sketch in oil of Minnehaha Falls in 1848 have been added. The little book, which is bound in boards and includes sixteen full pages of illustration, makes an attractive gift volume. A limited number of copies are available to members of the society and others who may be interested at one dollar each.

The regular meeting of the society's executive council on the evening of October 12 was followed by a program session open to the public, attended by about a hundred and twenty-five people. Mr. Gale presided and first introduced Dr. Grace Lee Nute, who sketched the early history of Grand Portage and then presented a color motion picture film of Grand Portage scenes. The next speaker was Mr. Ralph D. Brown, supervisor of the state historical survey under the WPA, who gave a report on the progress of the Grand Portage excavations and showed a number of slides illustrative of the work there.

Minnesota is the first state in the Union to complete an inventory of federal archives preserved within its area, according to an announcement made recently by the National Archives at Washington. Under the direction of Dr. P. M. Hamer, the National Archives has

been conducting a survey of federal records in all states. In Minnesota the work has been accomplished through a WPA project organized by the Minnesota Historical Society, with the superintendent as regional director and Mr. Jacob Hodnefield as assistant director. In the course of the survey, the records of more than a thousand government agencies located in seven hundred buildings have been examined. A guide to federal archives in Minnesota is now being prepared on the basis of the reports drawn up by workers engaged in the survey.

A vast amount of work has been accomplished in the historical records survey conducted as a WPA project under the supervision of the society. It has brought nearly to completion an inventory of state archives and of the records accumulated by the eighty-seven counties in Minnesota. The society is now preparing a general report on county archives. In addition the survey has completed inventories of the official records of 276 cities and villages in Minnesota, 429 townships, 572 school districts, 88 schools, more than 1,300 churches, nearly 1,700 associations, clubs, and organizations, and more than 600 cemeteries.

For the purpose of determining the exact site, ground plan, and method of construction of the post occupied at Grand Portage by the Northwest Company for nearly two decades before 1800, workers employed in a United States Indian Service project under the supervision of the Minnesota Historical Society have been excavating the site of one of the earliest white establishments in Minnesota during much of the summer and early fall. The site is being studied with a view to reconstructing at Grand Portage the stockade and buildings occupied by British traders of the Northwest Company long before settlement began in other parts of what is now Minnesota. As a result of the recent excavations the ancient stockade has been completely outlined, a number of pickets have been unearthed and their size determined, two of the three gates in the stockade have been located, and the foundation lines of what was probably a blockhouse and parts of those of four other structures have been traced. In addition more than four hundred archaeological specimens have been discovered during the course of the excavations. Most of them were recovered by sifting earth from the old stockade enclosure. They include fragments of clay pipes, pieces of blown glass tumblers and bottles, trade beads, buttons, knives, lead balls, pieces of flintlock guns, fire steels, trade

rings, files, chisels, hinges, square nails, bits of china and earthenware, pewter, and Indian artifacts. A few of these objects are now on display in the state society's museum.

Twenty-three additions to the society's active membership were made during the past quarter. They include one life member, Alvah Eastman of St. Cloud; one sustaining member, John M. Blakeley of St. Paul; and the following annual members: Theodora Agather of Minneapolis; Arthur M. Anderson of Louisville, Kentucky; Edwin B. Baer of St. Paul; Arthur O. Davidson of Grundy Center, Iowa; H. E. Durrenberger of Marshall; Mrs. Caroline Dayton Hayden of Minneapolis; Jule M. Hannaford, Jr., of St. Paul; George H. Herrold of St. Paul; J. I. Hopkins of Minneapolis; William A. Laidlaw of St. Paul; Ralph J. Mather of St. Paul; Isabella A. Morse of Winona; Harold C. Moser of St. Paul; J. Neill Morton of St. Paul; Orren E. Safford of Minneapolis; Ralph M. Sargent of Hamden, Connecticut; Mrs. Evadene Burris Swanson of Orono, Maine; Harley G. Swenson of Thief River Falls; Ward T. Watson of Waseca; Dr. Albin E. Westling of Minneapolis; and Gomer Williams of Minneapolis.

Six members of the society were lost by death during the three months from July 1 to October 1. They were Dr. Charles N. Bell of Winnipeg, a corresponding member, who died on August 29, and the following five active members: Mrs. Louise McNair Henry of Minneapolis, July 24; Sir Henry S. Welcome of London, England, July 25; Roy S. Belter of Minneapolis, July 29; Mrs. Edward C. Chatfield of Washington, D. C., August 1; and Henry A. Dreves of St. Paul, September 26.

During the three months from July 1 to October 1 a total of 394 readers used the society's manuscript collections. This number is larger than that for the entire year of 1929. Among the recent readers were many who came from outside the state, as well as many who are widely known as scholars and writers. The list includes M. Marcel Giraud of the universities of Rheims and Paris, who is engaged in a study of the part played by the half-breeds in the history of Canada and the United States; Professor Marion Dargan of the University of New Mexico, who is writing a biography of Clarence W. Alvord; Dr. P. L. Scanlon of Prairie du Chien, who is preparing

a history of his community; and Professor Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois, who made use of the Veblen Papers.

Eight miniature models depicting scenes of significance in the history of Minnesota have now been completed by artists engaged in a WPA project under the supervision of the Minnesota Historical Society and placed on display in the society's museum. One of the most striking is a contour scale model of old Fort Snelling, showing the post at the mouth of the Minnesota River as it appeared about 1850.

Mr. Babcock spoke before meetings of the Chippewa and Clay county historical societies on July 5 and 15, respectively, taking as his subject on both occasions "Minnesota History and the Local Museum." In addition he gave a talk on "The Historical Museum and the Educator" before a class in Minnesota history at the Moorhead State Teachers College on July 15, spoke on "Co-operation between State and Local History Projects" at a meeting of WPA supervisors in St. Paul on July 31, and described an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" before the North Shore Historical Assembly meeting in Grand Marais on August 22.

A book of *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*, edited and translated by the superintendent and Professor Martin B. Ruud of the University of Minnesota, will be published early in December by the University of Minnesota Press. The volume will contain more than fifty songs and ballads, all born of the European folk movement to America during the nineteenth century and covering a wide range of experience and emotion. Among them are "Oleana," "Farewell to the Spinning Wheel," and "I Would I Were on the Mississippi." The collection as a whole is believed to be a unique contribution to folk literature and social history.

A revised edition of Mr. Blegen's *Minnesota History: A Study Outline*, which appeared originally in 1931, will be issued in the near future by the University of Minnesota Press under the title *Minnesota: Its History and Its People*. In place of the twenty-five topics that appeared in the original syllabus, the student will find fifty-three, with greater stress placed upon the period since the Civil War. "From beginning to end the topics have been freshly considered," according to Mr. Blegen, "in the light both of recent research in the history of the Northwest" and of his own experience in teaching

courses in Minnesota history. Economic, social, and cultural factors in the development of the state have been given more attention than in the earlier syllabus, a vast amount of additional reference material has been listed, many new suggestions have been added, and the introductory material has been rewritten. Mr. Lewis Beeson collaborated with Mr. Blegen in the revision.

A report by Gertrude Gove of the fourteenth annual tour and state historical convention held under the auspices of the society appears in the *Windom Reporter* for July 10.

#### ACCESSIONS

"Memoirs of a Life. From My note book and Journal" is the title of a manuscript narrative by Henry H. Snelling, the first volume of which has been copied for the society by the photostatic method from the original in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Since the writer spent several years of his boyhood at old Fort Snelling, where his father, Colonel Josiah Snelling, was commandant from 1820 to 1827, his recollections of this period are of interest and value to students of Minnesota history. The "Memoirs" were not written until 1867, but the earlier portion of the narrative is based upon notebooks kept from about 1829 to 1844.

A journey from Indiana to Pennsylvania and thence to Framingham, Massachusetts, and social and religious life in Boston are described by Edwin M. Stone in a diary kept from 1822 to 1831, which has been photographed for the society from the original in the possession of Mrs. Grace Carrier of St. Paul. Stone was engaged as a printer's apprentice at Boston in 1823 and later he became editor of the *Boston Times*.

A photostatic copy of a record book kept from 1833 to 1867 at the La Pointe mission church by the well-known missionaries Sherman Hall and Leonard H. Wheeler has been made for the society from the original in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society. Copies of four letters written between 1838 and 1858 by George Copway, the Indian missionary, have been received from the same society.

An interesting diary kept by James W. Taylor from 1842 to 1849 while he was studying law in Cincinnati has been added to the Taylor Papers by his grandson, Mr. James Taylor Dunn of St. Paul (see



*ante*, 1:216-219). Ten letters written between 1871 and 1892, when Taylor was serving as United States consul at Winnipeg, are included in the gift.

A transcript of a diary kept in 1845 and 1846 by William R. Brown, a pioneer farmer who settled near Newport, has been made for the society from the original in the possession of Mrs. Clarence Johnson of St. Paul. The entries give a vivid picture of life on a frontier Minnesota farm in the pre-territorial period, a period for which such records are very rare. In nearly every entry for October and November, 1845, preparations for the long Minnesota winter are noted. Brown reports that he finished harvesting rutabagas and turnips, that he "banked the dirt up around the Houses," that he "put up 2 barrels of ashes to leach," and that his wife was busily engaged in making soap. On November 17 he went to Fort Snelling in a canoe, which he brought home "loaded with Leather and sadlery, sugar, molasses, etc." The trip was made none too soon, for on the twenty-third he notes that the ice was "running quite thick," and his diary entry for two days later records that the "river closed over about 1 oclock today."

About six hundred letters mounted in two scrapbooks have been added to the papers of the Reverend James Peet, a Methodist missionary in the Lake Superior region, by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Edward L. Peet of Minneapolis (see *ante*, 5:376). Among the writers of the letters, which date from 1852 to 1864, in addition to Peet himself, are Thomas M. Fullerton, who entered land for Peet at Stillwater, Lewis H. Merritt, who wrote from Oneota, and several prominent Minnesota Methodists. Circulars describing Methodist academies at St. Cloud and Belle Prairie also are to be found in the scrapbooks.

Forty items from the papers of Daniel S. King, received through the courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth Hart of Minneapolis, include deeds for land in Ramsey and Anoka counties issued to Samuel King between 1853 and 1864, contracts for carrying mail in Dakota Territory in the eighties, and a waybill dated December 1, 1883, for goods shipped in Dakota Territory over Daniel S. King's stage line.

A list of members of the Congregational Church of Excelsior, minutes of meetings from 1853 to 1883, and records of baptisms, mar-

riages, and deaths are contained in a record book that has been photographed through the courtesy of Mrs. Jewel Larson of Excelsior, who owns the original.

Minutes of the meetings held by the Northfield Lyceum from 1856 to 1863 have been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Mrs. Charles A. Bierman of Northfield. Among the topics discussed at meetings of the organization, which was primarily a debating society, were the admission of Minnesota to the Union, the Dred Scott decision, and state loans to railroads. Some information about the reading room and circulating library conducted by the lyceum also is to be found in its minutes.

Minutes of the annual town meetings held in Champlin Township from 1859 to 1889 and an account book kept by the treasurer of the township from 1875 to 1905 have been received from Mr. Archie Sorenson, town clerk.

Miss Alice Webb of St. Paul has presented eight items of family papers, including three letters written by her great uncle, Pennock Pusey, in the early sixties. The Civil War and the Sioux Outbreak are among the subjects discussed in the letters.

A typed copy of a yearly record kept from 1862 to 1913 by Cornelius Janzen, a Russian Mennonite who settled on a farm south of Mountain Lake in 1878, has been presented by Mr. Ferdinand P. Schultz of Mountain Lake. The summary of events for each year contains information about the harvest, improvements on the farm, the purchase of cattle, and the weather. The original document is in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Toews of Mountain Lake.

The Civil War experiences of Michael R. Dresbach, who enlisted in the Second Minnesota Volunteer Infantry on January 4, 1864, are recorded in some seventy letters written to his wife in 1864 and 1865, which have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. M. A. Doran of Muncie, Indiana. Accompanying the letters are detailed reminiscences of Sherman's march to the sea.

A copy of the articles of incorporation of the First Universalist Society of Anoka in 1867, minutes of meetings of the society and its board of trustees from 1885 to 1900, and parish reports are to be

found in a record book photographed through the courtesy of Mrs. Fred Stewart of Anoka.

A box of the papers of Twiford E. Hughes, assistant postmaster of Minneapolis from 1874 to 1911, is the gift of Mrs. Charles S. Brearley of Minneapolis. Articles by Hughes on the history of post office buildings and postal receipts in Minneapolis, biographical sketches, and clippings are included in the collection.

Records of baptisms and marriages, membership lists, treasurers' records, Sunday school records, and minutes of meetings of the Epworth League and of the women's foreign missionary society of the Grace Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul are among eighty-three volumes dating from 1874 to 1922 recently received from the church. Minutes of quarterly conferences held from 1874 to 1908 and of meetings of the board of trustees and the board of stewards from 1877 to 1903 also are included in the gift.

Dockets made up of records of cases tried before courts of the justice of the peace at Melrose from 1875 to 1893 and at Dayton from 1901 to 1910 have been received from Mr. Ignatius Lemm, city clerk of Melrose, and Mr. Cecil Bouley, mayor of Dayton.

Two account books kept by Thomas H. Griffin from 1878 to 1909 while engaged in farming near Clinton Falls have been photographed for the society through the courtesy of his daughter, Mrs. C. P. Christison of Medford. Diary entries for the years from 1878 to 1883, giving information about weather, dates for planting crops, and farming operations, are included in the first volume. The accounts contain much valuable information about the cost of operating a farm and the receipts realized from the sale of produce.

Twenty-three volumes of a diary kept between 1882 and 1918 by Mrs. Sarah G. Baird, a resident of a rural district of Hennepin County, have been presented by Mrs. H. W. Darr of Minneapolis. Meetings of the Edina Grange in 1896 and of the National Grange at Washington in 1900 are described in the diary, which is concerned for the most part with the domestic and social life of the diarist.

A volume containing the articles of incorporation, a list of members, financial records, and minutes of meetings from 1894 to 1910

of the First Congregational Church of Claremont Street in Claremont has been photographed through the courtesy of Mrs. Edward Hitchcock of Claremont, the owner of the original. The church was discontinued in 1911.

Minutes of meetings and financial records of the Modern Samaritans of Walker, a fraternal benefit society, for the years from 1901 to 1917, minutes of meetings and membership records of the Walker branch of the Improved Order of Red Men for the period from 1898 to 1912, and a volume of ordinances and rules issued in the village of Lothrop in 1896 have been received from the auditor's office of Cass County.

"The Public Library Movement in Minnesota, 1849-1900," is the title of a paper prepared by Ellworth Carlstedt in a Minnesota history course at the University of Minnesota and photographed for the society through the courtesy of Miss Clara Baldwin, formerly of the library division of the state department of education.

Nineteen volumes of treasurers' records of the Bethany Congregational Church of Minneapolis for the period from 1903 to 1923, an account book kept by the treasurer of the Sunday school, and a volume of minutes of the ladies' aid society of the church have been presented by Mrs. G. L. Townsend of Minneapolis. The church merged with the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in 1927 to form the Shiloh-Bethany Presbyterian Church.

A volume of minutes of meetings from 1910 to 1917 of the Political Equality Club of St. Paul has been presented by Mrs. Ernest Leighton of St. Paul. A list of members and minutes of meetings of the club's campaign committee for the adoption of woman suffrage in Minnesota are to be found in a volume presented by Mrs. Henry Carling of St. Paul.

Two registers of Civil War veterans who attended reunions of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Association between 1912 and 1933 have been presented by the secretary, Mrs. A. J. McIntyre of St. Paul. Accompanying the volumes are letters from various members, including Christopher C. Andrews and James A. Wright.

Two volumes of minutes of meetings from 1913 to 1932 of the executive committee of the Women's Presbyterial Missionary Society

of the St. Paul Presbytery and some brief accounts of the early history of the organization have been received from the secretary, Mrs. Leigh Ferris of St. Paul.

A record book kept between 1921 and 1929 by the secretary-treasurer of the Ladies' Aid Society of Bethany Lutheran Church of Remer has been presented by Mrs. John Sorum of Remer.

Two boxes of papers of the citizens committee on public school finance of Minneapolis have been presented by the secretary, Mrs. H. K. Painter of Minneapolis. They include data on expenditures for schools in the Twin Cities and Duluth from 1930 to 1935, the minutes of a subcommittee on legislation, and material relating to the Minnesota Education Association and the council of Parent-Teacher associations.

A file of the *Worthington Advance* extending from September, 1874, through August, 1887, has been received from Mr. James H. Ganoe of Portland, Oregon.

An issue of the *Family Herald* of Minneapolis for November 2, 1889, is the gift of Mr. Jefferson Jones of Minneapolis. The paper, which is said to have been the first neighborhood sheet published in Minneapolis, was established in 1887 as the *West End Herald*. Copies of the *Herald* are now extremely rare.

A large number of newspapers of Spanish-American War interest, including partial files of the *Manila American*, the *American Soldier*, and *Freedom* for 1898 and 1899, have been received from Mr. C. W. Albrecht of St. Paul, who served as sergeant of Company H, Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry.

About two hundred and fifty issues of thirty-six Minnesota newspapers have been presented by Mrs. James E. Doré of St. Paul. Among them are a file of the *Winnebago City Enterprise* for 1903, and single issues of *Bede's Budget* of Pine City, the *Little Falls Sun*, and the *Wells Advocate*.

Nearly three hundred items of household goods, consisting of furniture, china, glassware, rugs, drapes, silverware, pictures, and the like, all of which were used in the home of Dr. and Mrs. William W. Folwell during their long residence in Minneapolis, have been received

from their children, Miss Mary Folwell of Minneapolis, Mr. Russell H. Folwell of Chicago, and Mr. William B. Folwell of Rochester. Many of the items belonged originally to Mrs. Folwell's family — the Heywoods of Buffalo, New York — and some of them date from the early decades of the nineteenth century. The furniture includes a mahogany drop-leaf table, four mahogany chairs, a pair of painted chairs, two ottomans, a sewing table, a four-poster bedstead in the pineapple design, a sleigh bed, several chests of drawers, and a mahogany sofa. Among the pictures is an oil portrait of Dr. Folwell by Douglas Volk.

A skein reel dating from 1776, a teapot of britannia ware made about 1830, a wine glass of 1736, a brass candlestick, candle snuffers, knives and forks, and a snuff box have been presented by Miss Eva L. Goodwin of Minneapolis in memory of her mother, Mrs. Jennie J. B. Goodwin. Other additions to the domestic life collection include a fluting iron, a small chest, and a telescope, received from the estate of D. I. King through the courtesy of Mrs. Elizabeth Hart of Minneapolis; a flatiron brought from Austria in 1848, presented by Messrs. John P. and Clement Vikla of Lonsdale; a large iron kettle, from Mr. C. H. Melancon of St. Paul; and a carpet bag brought to St. Anthony in 1857, from Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Pray of Minneapolis.

A china doll, doll's clothing, a toy cradle, and quilts have been presented by the Misses Annis and Orena Teachout of Farmington. Two toy flatirons are the gifts of Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

Among recent additions to the costume collection are a dolman made from a paisley shawl, from Mrs. W. B. Parsons of St. Paul; a yellow velvet wedding dress and a green velvet dolman dating from 1878, from Miss Julia Rogers of St. Paul; a brown plaid silk dress dating from 1848, a shoulder cape of faille and lace, a tortoise shell comb, and a gentleman's white satin vest of the middle fifties, from Mrs. W. H. Condit of Minneapolis; waists, parasols, and fans, from Miss Annie I. Carpenter of St. Paul; and gowns of tan serge and white torchon lace, a cream brocade evening coat trimmed in ermine, and a jacket suit, all dating from 1896, from Mrs. O. F. Burlingame of Winona.

A powder horn and a Bible carried by a soldier in the American Revolution, received from Mrs. Thomas S. Armstrong of Kirkland,

Washington, and a pair of spurs used during the Mexican War, presented by Winfield S. Varcelon of Gulley, are among recent additions to the society's military collection. Medals, battle clasps, stars, military buttons, and insignia that belonged to Louis and Frederick Hill have been received from their sister, Mrs. Carrie McKay of Outing. Several articles of World War interest, including a map case, French flare lights, and insignia, are the gifts of Mr. James Dudley of St. Paul.

A handmade wooden cultivator found on an abandoned farm near Grygla is the gift of Mr. George Gaylord of the state department of conservation. Nine carpenter's planes of different types that were brought to Minnesota in 1859 have been presented by Mr. W. C. Blunt of Minneapolis. A batteau oar with a spiked end, such as was used by lumberjacks in driving logs, has been received from Mrs. Susan Miller of Champlin.

A hitching post in the shape of a small iron horse of a type used in the seventies is the gift of Mrs. J. W. Clark of Coleraine.

A picture of a mill at Cannon Falls in 1857 is the gift of Mr. D. D. Lewis of Cannon Falls. Mr. E. D. McKinnon of St. Paul has presented pictures of some of the early schools in St. Paul. Portraits of Bishops Henry B. Whipple and Mahlon W. Gilbert have been received from Dr. F. L. Palmer of St. Paul, and Mr. Norman L. Guimont of Champlin has given pictures of Alex and Bernard Cloutier.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

"Some of the many problems which confront the pictorial illustrator of history, whether he confines himself to the use of contemporary records, or ventures into the more perilous region of imaginative reconstruction" are suggested by Charles W. Jefferys in an article on "The Visual Reconstruction of History," which appears in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September. "Some knowledge of printing processes is required," the writer believes, since "often the process used in reproducing a picture will give a clue as to its authenticity as a contemporary work. Processes date themselves as definitely as buildings or styles of furniture." In discussing the value of museum objects as illustrative material, he praises the effort that is being made by modern technical and historical museums to collect and preserve the "humbler but more universally characteristic objects" of past generations. Open-air museums, collections made by commercial corporations to illustrate the development of an industry, and the reconstruction and preservation of historic buildings receive attention. Mr. Jefferys points out that such materials are used not only by artists and historians, but by those who give to an increasingly critical public historical novels, historical motion pictures, and popular biographies. Many modern motion pictures, he asserts, "show a meticulous attention to detail, and a general atmosphere which have involved a vast amount of research and real scholarship." The writer concludes that the "visual reconstructor of the past, whether painter, illustrator, movie producer, or museum curator, is also indirectly rendering some service to the cause of historical scholarship and research."

The "Wild Rice Harvest" of the Chippewa of northern Minnesota is the subject of an interesting article by Albert Huber in *Indians at Work* for October 1. Originally the Indians harvested this native product for their own use only, but the whites have learned to use wild rice in recent years, and the writer estimates that at present the "rice harvested in Minnesota during a single normal year is about 100 tons." In order to give the Indians the greatest benefit from the marketing of the rice, the Chippewa Indian Co-operative Marketing Association was organized in June, 1936.



In the July issue of the *Colorado Magazine*, Albert W. Thompson attempts to answer the question, "Where Is Zebulon Montgomery Pike Buried?" A visit to the military cemetery at Madison Barracks, New York, where a memorial to Pike has been erected, and an examination of available evidence lead the writer to the conclusion that "no man knows where the body of the discoverer of the 'Grand peak' of the West and victor of York lies."

One chapter of Sister Mary Doris Mulvey's dissertation on *French Catholic Missionaries in the Present United States (1604-1791)*, which has been published by the Catholic University of America as volume 23 of its *Studies in American Church History* (1936. 158 p.), is devoted to "The Old Northwest, 1642-1763." The author touches upon Father Hennepin and his Minnesota explorations, Father Guignas' mission at Fort Beauharnois, and Father Aulneau's tragic experience at the Lake of the Woods.

The career of a pioneer German Catholic priest in Minnesota, Father Valentine Sommereisen, is the subject of an interesting sketch by John M. Lenhart which appears in the September issue of *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*. When Father Augustin Ravoux went abroad in 1854 in search of workers for the Minnesota mission field he persuaded Father Sommereisen to return with him to St. Paul. There the young German completed his theological studies and was ordained. In 1851 he "was appointed first resident pastor of St. Philip's Parish at Mankato." For two decades he labored in south-western Minnesota, visiting "altogether 36 missions, from the Iowa line to Shakopee and Chaska, from St. Mary's near Waseca to Sleepy Eye and Redwood." According to his records, his congregations included five thousand people in 1869, and "his parochial school at Mankato was attended by 200 children." About half of the article is devoted to Father Sommereisen's work at Yankton, South Dakota, where he became resident priest in 1871. A second article, in the October issue of *Central-Blatt*, deals with the priest's participation in the Yellowstone expedition of 1873.

The student of the co-operative movement in Minnesota and the Northwest will find much valuable information in R. H. Elsworth's *Statistics of Farmers' Cooperative Business Organizations, 1920-1935*, published by the co-operative division of the Farm Credit Ad-

ministration, as number 6 of its *Bulletins* (1936. 129 p.). One table shows that Minnesota has 1,416 farmers' selling and buying associations, — a larger number than any other state, — with an estimated membership of 332,100. Sections dealing with the marketing of dairy products, grain, and livestock, and with co-operative purchasing of farm supplies are of special Minnesota interest. Another *Bulletin* in the same series (no. 4) is *Cooperation in Agriculture: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography*, compiled by Chastina Gardner (1936. 214 p.). An excellent index reveals that publications dealing with many phases of co-operation in Minnesota are listed.

Special attention is given to the development of the "Co-op' Idea" in Minnesota by M. Lowell Gunzburg in an article in the *New York Times Magazine* for September 13. He notes that Minnesota "now has a total of 2,866 so-called consumer cooperatives with a membership of 531,180, doing a business of \$28,000,000 a year."

In *Ladies of the Press* (New York and London, 1936. xii, 622 p.) Ishbel Ross has told in a zestful way of the part played by women in American journalism. In spite of the work done by such pioneers as Fanny Fern, Jenny June, Margaret Fuller, and Jane Swisshelm, who broke into the newspaper world about the middle of the nineteenth century, the heyday of the newspaperwoman did not come until the closing decades of the century. Then Nellie Bly, Winifred Black, Ada Patterson, and their contemporary sob sisters established a definite place in the newspaper world for the woman reporter. Minnesota readers will be particularly interested in the sections dealing with Jane Grey Swisshelm (p. 323-326) and with present-day women journalists of the state. A. J. L.

Contemporary and modern accounts of the New Madrid earthquake of 1811 are listed in a bibliography published in the *Missouri Historical Review* for July. A brief account of the disturbance is presented in an introduction to the bibliography. "The area of destruction, of which New Madrid was the center," it reads, "included southeastern Missouri, northeastern Arkansas, western Kentucky and Tennessee; tremors felt without the aid of instruments were reported throughout an area equal to half that of the entire United States."

The services of Dr. William Beaumont as a practicing physician and professor of surgery in St. Louis after 1835 were emphasized by

Dr. Robert E. Schlueter in a biographical sketch of this pioneer surgeon of the Northwest, presented at St. Anthony's Hospital, St. Louis, on December 9, 1935. The address has been published in full in a pamphlet on Beaumont and the *Exercises Commemorating the Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of His Birth* (9 p.). The St. Louis Medical Society conducted a pilgrimage to Beaumont's grave, in Bellefontaine Cemetery, on November 21, 1935, the sesquicentennial of his birth.

In an article on "Painting and Sculpture in Michigan," which appears in the autumn number of the *Michigan History Magazine*, Clyde H. Burroughs reveals that at least two pioneer Michigan artists worked extensively in Minnesota. They are J. O. Lewis, who painted portraits of Indian chiefs at the treaties of Prairie du Chien and Fond du Lac in 1825 and 1826, and J. M. Stanley, who worked in the vicinity of Fort Snelling in the late thirties and accompanied Isaac I. Stevens on his Pacific railroad survey of 1853.

*A Student at Wisconsin Fifty Years Ago: Reminiscences and Records of the Eighties* is the title of an interesting volume by Frederic A. Pike, who attended the University of Wisconsin in the eighties and is now a St. Paul lawyer (Madison, 1935. 244 p.). Mr. Pike depended not only upon his own memory for his picture of student life and activities, but consulted manuscript records kept by other students, the writings and addresses of faculty members, files of college publications, programs of university attractions, catalogues, and the like. The result is a well-rounded account of campus activities. Among the many subjects discussed are classroom studies and procedure, examinations, living quarters, sports, social activities, transportation, music, drama, and the expenses involved in campus life.

Father Samuel C. Mazzuchelli, Bishops Loras and Cretin, Father Augustin Ravoux, Father Lucian Galtier, and other pioneer Catholic priests and missionaries of Minnesota and the Northwest figure prominently in a *Centennial History of St. Gabriel's Parish, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, 1836-1936*, by Dr. P. L. Scanlan (61 p.). An entire section is given to the part played in the founding of St. Paul by Father Galtier, who served at Prairie du Chien from 1847 to 1866.

"By not facing the Piegans and bargaining for an unmolested passage across the mountains, but changing the route to the unfrequented

Athabaska pass" David Thompson "failed to assert the right of Great Britain to the mouth of the Columbia by right of settlement before the arrival of the Americans." This conclusion is reached by Arthur S. Morton in an article on "The North West Company's Columbian Enterprise and David Thompson," which appears in the September issue of the *Canadian Historical Review*. When the company launched its Columbian enterprise, writes Mr. Morton, it quietly assumed that "if it captured the trade of the Pacific slope, the region would be drawn within the sovereignty of Britain." A number of documents from the Public Archives of Canada relating to "The Appeal of the North West Company to the British Government to Forestall John Jacob Astor's Columbian Enterprise" are published in the "Notes and Documents" section of the same issue of the *Review*. In this number also appears an article by W. M. Stewart on "David Thompson's Surveys in the North-west," in which special attention is given to his Saskatchewan River surveys. An examination of available evidence relating to the "Buffalo and Snow" is presented by F. G. Roe in the June issue of the *Review*. He does not believe that his findings "support any hypothesis of wholesale destruction of the species by snow," and he reveals that the "testimony from eye-witnesses indicates that the buffalo had an utter indifference to, and disdain for, snow."

A "cairn and tablet erected to commemorate the old Roseau Route and the death of Christophe Dufrost de la Jemmeraye, nephew of La Verendrye, who died along the Roseau Route in 1736," was unveiled at Letellier, Manitoba, on July 26. The ceremonies were conducted jointly by the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba and the Historical Society of St. Boniface. According to the program issued for the occasion, the "Cairn of Letellier stands along the inland route over which so many traders and trappers travelled going from Fort Garry to Pembina and St. Paul."

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

A sketch of a former secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, Dr. Warren Upham, appears in volume 19 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned Societies (New York, 1936). The author, Wil-

liam H. Emmons, emphasizes Dr. Upham's contributions in the field of geology. A Minnesota Indian, the Sioux chief Wabasha the second, is the subject of a sketch by W. J. Ghent. The careers of two leaders in the industrial development of Minneapolis — T. B. Walker, lumber magnate and art collector, and William D. Washburn, flour mill owner and senator — are reviewed by Lester B. Shippee; and William J. Humphreys contributes an account of Washburn's brother, Cadwallader C. Washburn, who played a prominent part in the development of water power at the Falls of St. Anthony and served as governor of Wisconsin. Max Lerner is the author of a biography of Thorstein Veblen, economist and social theorist, whose early life is identified with southern Minnesota and who was graduated from Carleton College. The life of a well-known Minnesota writer of fiction, Anne R. Warner, better known as Anne Warner French, who was born and spent much of her life in St. Paul, is described by Verne L. Samson. John Tasker Howard reviews the career of Henri Verbruggen, conductor from 1923 to 1931 of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra. Among other sketches of interest to Minnesotans in the present volume are those of Frederick J. Turner, historian of the West, by Frederic L. Paxson; Henry Villard, railroad builder, by James B. Hedges; Chrysostom A. Verwyst, missionary among the Chippewa of the Lake Superior region and student of their language, by Louise P. Kellogg; and Gouverneur K. Warren, an engineer who directed government surveys of the upper Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, by William A. Ganoe. Accounts of Johan A. Udden, geologist, by Elias H. Sellards, of Oscar W. Underwood, representative and senator from Alabama, by Virginius Dabney, and of John C. Van Dyke, art critic, by Frank J. Mather, Jr., reveal that each of these men spent some years of his youth in Minnesota.

The names of eight Minnesota pioneers who made outstanding contributions to the state's progress have been placed on plates over the doorways of eight new units of Pioneer Hall, the men's dormitory on the campus of the University of Minnesota. The selection was made by a faculty committee and was approved at a meeting of the board of regents of the university on September 29. The Minnesotans thus honored are Christopher C. Andrews, pioneer of forestry; Ignatius Donnelly, pioneer of political thought; James M. Goodhue, pioneer

of journalism; Paul Hjelm-Hansen, pioneer of Norwegian settlement; William W. Mayo, pioneer of medicine; Martin McLeod, pioneer of education; Leonidas Merritt, pioneer of iron mining; and Cadwallader C. Washburn, pioneer of flour milling. Brief sketches of these pioneers appear in *Minnesota Chats*, a university publication, for October 22.

The "History, Platforms, and Programs" of the Farmer-Labor party, presented in a speech before the House of Representatives by Congressman Ernest Lundeen of Minnesota on June 17, are published in the "Appendix" to the *Congressional Record* for July 9. The ideas for which the modern party stands are traced back to such third-party movements as the Granger movement and the People's party. Mr. Lundeen points out, however, that the Farmer-Labor party had its real origin in November, 1918, when for the "first time the name Farmer-Labor appeared on the ballot in this country." The part played by the party in each election since that year is described.

A list of "Recent Publications on Minnesota Government" appears in the *Minnesota Year Book* for 1936, issued by the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

"Early Days in Minnesota Schools" from 1823, when John Marsh taught at Fort Snelling, to the seventies are pictured by Sister Jeanne Marie in the *Minnesota Journal of Education* for September. Several mission schools, Miss Bishop's school at St. Paul, and St. Mary's Select School in St. Anthony are among the institutions from which the author draws her examples. "Looking into old newspapers kept on file at the Minnesota Historical Society one may afford himself almost endless entertainment finding accounts of school histories in different localities," she suggests. A portrait of Harriet Bishop is the frontispiece for the issue.

A brief outline of Quaker activities in Minneapolis from 1854 to the present is reprinted from the *American Friend* of Richmond, Indiana, in the *Minneapolis Star* for August 8. The author is the editor of the *Friend*, the Reverend Walter C. Woodward, who visited Minneapolis recently. He records that the "first Friends meeting was held in June, 1854," and that "in 1860, the first meeting house was built."

Six Minnesota churches held eightieth anniversary celebrations during the past summer. They are the Monticello Congregational Church on July 5, St. Joseph's Catholic Church of Medicine Lake on August 2, the Greenfield Lutheran Church of Harmony from September 3 to 6, the Holy Cross Episcopal Church of Dundas on September 14, the Methodist Episcopal Church of Monticello from September 18 to 20, and the North Prairie Norwegian Lutheran Church from September 25 to 27. Other churches that commemorated anniversaries include: seventy-fifth anniversaries by St. Anne's Catholic Church of Le Sueur on July 26, the Immanuel Evangelical Church of Maple Grove from September 3 to 6, the Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception of New Munich on September 7, and the Norwegian Lutheran Church of Crow River on September 20; seventieth anniversaries by the Salem Lutheran Church of Stockholm from July 17 to 19 and the Stanchfield Baptist Church from September 18 to 20; sixty-fifth anniversaries by St. Stephen's Lutheran Church of Canby on July 12, the Lake Hazel Lutheran Church on July 19, St. John's American Lutheran Church of Owatonna from September 13 to 15, the Albion Lutheran Church on September 20, and the Trinity Lutheran Church of Stillwater on September 20; sixtieth anniversaries by the Sverdrup Lutheran Church of Underwood on June 28, the First Evangelical Lutheran Church of Glencoe on August 9, the Bethlehem Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ulen on August 23, and the Kongsvinger Lutheran Church near Donnelly from September 25 to 27; fiftieth anniversaries by the Tyler Danish Lutheran Church on June 27 and 28, the Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church of Wylie on July 5, St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Fulda on August 30, the East Moe Lutheran Church on September 6, the Diamond Lake Danish Lutheran Church on September 19 and 20, the Catholic Church of the Holy Cross of Minneapolis on September 20, the Lima Lutheran Church on September 27, and the Olivet Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul from September 27 to October 4; a forty-fifth anniversary by the Silver Lake Congregational Church on August 23; and a fortieth anniversary by the Concordia Finnish Lutheran Church of Eveleth from September 18 to 20. Announcements of the anniversaries in the local papers were frequently accompanied by brief historical accounts of the churches and their relations to the histories of the communities and the state.

The Sioux Historic Trail, which extends westward through the Minnesota Valley to Lake Traverse and thence northward along the Red River to Pembina, is the subject of an article in the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm for July 24. Historic sites along the trail are briefly described and travelers and explorers, such as Stephen H. Long and Samuel Wood, who followed this route through the Northwest are noted.

A useful bibliography of books and articles relating to *Conservation in Minnesota* has been compiled by Marian R. Kiekenapp and issued in multigraphed form by the division of library instruction of the University of Minnesota as number 3 of its *Bibliographical Projects* (1936. 18 p.).

Minnesotans who are interested in the marketing of dairy products will find a wealth of information in a pamphlet on the *Sale and Distribution of Milk and Milk Products, Twin City Sales Area*, which has been published as a *Report* of the Federal Trade Commission (Washington, 1936. 71 p.). The organization of the Twin City Milk Producers Association in 1916, its activities since that time, the amount of milk sold and prices paid from 1920 to 1935, and health regulations relating to milk in St. Paul and Minneapolis are among the subjects touched upon.

An act passed by the Seventy-fourth Congress and approved by the President on June 23, 1936, authorizes the secretary of war "to set aside in the Fort Snelling Military Reservation, Minnesota, a plot of land which shall include the existing post cemetery with such boundaries as he may prescribe therefor as a national cemetery, which hereafter shall be cared for and maintained as a national cemetery."

An article on the "Great Indian Uprising of 1862" by Albert W. Johnson occupies most of the space in the number for September 30 of *Winners of the West*, a publication issued by the National Indian War Veterans at St. Joseph, Missouri. A number of pictures of Sioux War leaders and scenes illustrate the paper.

The "History and Development of Camp Ripley" is outlined by P. C. Bettenburg and E. B. Miller in the *Military Engineer* for March-April. The authors confine themselves to a description of the camp established in 1930, noting merely that the name "was chosen



because the reservation includes a part of the old Fort Ripley, which was established by the Federal Government in 1848."

The "Forty-ninth Anniversary Edition" of the *Prison Mirror*, a publication of the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, issued on July 16, includes a brief history of the paper, which was established in 1887 and is said to be "today the oldest prison publication in the world."

#### LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The history of Crescent Grange number 512 was reviewed by S. G. Holden before a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society held at Linwood on September 13. The activities of several pioneer Anoka County families—those of Frank King, Patrick Ryan, H. P. Aney, and J. G. Green—were the subjects of talks by Charles King, Mrs. C. V. Waller, Maud Grant, and Mrs. Millie H. Osgood. Much of the information contained in Mr. Holden's address is presented in the *Anoka Union* for September 16. It reveals that the Crescent Grange was organized in April, 1874, at Leent in Chisago County.

A new structure which will house the local public library and a historical museum is nearing completion at New Ulm.

Under the joint auspices of the Chippewa County Historical Society and the Montevideo Junior Association of Commerce, objects of historical significance in the possession of residents of Chippewa County were assembled and placed on display in Montevideo store windows on July 3, 4, and 5. Prizes of five, three, and two dollars were awarded to the owners of the best exhibits, which consisted of a rosewood chest that once belonged to Scott Campbell, a collection of early farming implements, and a cobbler's outfit more than a hundred years old. The merit of the exhibits was judged by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. On July 5 he addressed a meeting at Montevideo on the subject of "Minnesota History and the Local Museum." The wide interest aroused in this exhibit encouraged the county historical society and the junior association to plan a second display of a similar nature, which was arranged at Montevideo early in September. In this case prizes were awarded for objects in nine different classifications, such as furniture and Indian objects, and for the best window displays.

It is to be hoped that the Chippewa County Historical Society eventually will find it possible to give the articles shown in these displays a permanent home. That an effort is being made by the society to "find space for permanent museum exhibits" is announced by Mrs. L. N. Pierce in the *Montevideo American* for September 25.

The Clay County Historical Society held open house in its rooms on the campus of the Moorhead State Teachers College on July 15, giving about a hundred members and friends the opportunity to view its rapidly growing collection of pioneer objects. Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the state historical society's museum, addressed the gathering on the subject of local historical activity. Another feature of the program was a display of early costumes on living models.

A marker erected by the Cook County Historical Society on the homestead of Colonel William Colvill at Grand Marais was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies at the afternoon session of the eighth annual North Shore Historical Assembly, which was held at Grand Marais on August 22. The bronze plaque on the marker bears the following inscription: "Colvill Homestead. Site of the log home built by Colonel William Colvill of the First Minnesota Regiment, built about 1893 on this land homesteaded by him. Burned about 1906. Erected by the Cook County Historical Society August 1936." Among the speakers who reviewed Colvill's career were Judge Bert Fesler and Colonel Otto I. Ronningen. At the evening session of the assembly, which consists of the historical societies of Cook, Lake, and St. Louis counties, Judge William Scott read a paper on "The Schools of Lake County, Past and Present," and Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the state historical society, presented an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History."

A collection of objects illustrative of the early history of Grant County is being assembled by Judge W. H. Goetzinger at Elbow Lake. In the *Grant County Herald* for August 20 he expresses the hope that a county historical society which can care for the collection will soon be organized. Such a society, he says, should have available a room "in which to store and display a collection of relics and articles of historical interest. There is county wide interest in the project and many have offered to make contributions as soon as a place is provided."

At a meeting of the Koochiching County Historical Society held at Rogers on July 8, Mrs. J. F. Walton recalled incidents connected with the history of Fort Frances from 1872 to 1894 and Joe Rogers and August Nelson described early days in the village of Ericsburg.

A pageant depicting the arrival of the earliest settlers in the Thief Lake district was a feature of the annual summer meeting and picnic of the Marshall County Historical Society, which was held at Thief Lake Dam on July 12. Among the speakers on the program were Mr. R. D. V. Carr, who spoke on the "Early History of Middle River," Mr. Carl Berg, who described some early events connected with the history of the Thief Lake area, and Dr. D. Squires, who reviewed some of the early history of the county. The talks presented by Mr. Carr and Mr. Berg are published in full in the *Warren Sheaf* for July 15.

About three thousand people attended the annual picnic of the Martin County Historical Society, which was held at Granada on August 30. An exhibit of objects illustrative of pioneer life in the county was arranged for the meeting.

The Morrison County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Little Falls on August 31, when the following officers were elected: Val E. Kasperek, president; Mrs. Harry Stillwell, vice president; Mrs. A. E. Amundsen, secretary; and Warren Gibson, treasurer.

The history of the pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota was reviewed by Judge George P. Gurley of Pipestone in an address presented at Worthington on August 16 before the annual meeting of the Nobles County Historical Society. To direct the activities of the society during the coming year, the following officers were elected: A. L. Wells of Brewster, president; C. W. Becker of Wilmont, vice president; Julia Hyland of Worthington, secretary; and Frank Morgan of Worthington, treasurer.

Between eight and ten thousand people attended the annual meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which was held at Leaf Lake on June 28. Among the speakers were Charles R. Wright of Fergus Falls, who presented a survey of the history of the region; S. M. Rector and John B. Hompe of Deer Creek, who gave reminis-

cent talks on early days in their community; and Judge Anton Thompson, president of the society, who spoke on its activities. Evidence that the society's rooms in Fergus Falls attract numerous visitors is to be found in a report of the secretary, E. T. Barnard, which appears in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for August 22. He reveals that during the past two years more than eight thousand people have registered when visiting this local historical museum.

Judge Nels B. Hansen was elected president of the Polk County Historical Society at a meeting held at Crookston on July 17.

Dr. L. W. Boe, president of St. Olaf College, Northfield, was the speaker at a meeting of the Rice County Historical Society held on the college campus on August 3. He took as his subject "St. Olaf College as Typical of the Development of a Racial Group in America."

A paper on the "Northfield Old Settlers' Association, 1872-1897," presented by Mrs. Oscar Nystuen at a meeting of the Rice County Historical Society on May 11, is published in full in the *Northfield Independent* for July 2. Material for the paper was located through the use of an index of Rice County newspapers made under the auspices of the local WPA. The organization of the association in 1872, its constitution, its first officers, and some of the more interesting meetings held during the first twenty-five years of its existence are described by the writer.

The program presented at a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society at Lake Eshquaguma on August 14 included papers and addresses on the "Development of Camp and Recreational Grounds around Lake Eshquaguma" by Carlo Chase, "My First Trips along the Embarrass" by Edward Lynch, "Indian Trails over Glacial Deposits" by Tony Benson, "Agricultural Development through St. Louis County Club and Farm Bureau Association" by August Neubauer, and "Iron Ore Discovery and Development" by John H. Hearing. An exhibit of Indian artifacts arranged by Dr. C. E. Hagie of Aurora for the Mesaba Range Chippewa Archeological Society was on view during the meeting.

At a meeting of the Washington County Historical Society, held at Newport on September 17, Miss Phyllis Sweeley read a paper entitled "A Glimpse of Minnesota's Past" and Mrs. A. J. Keck pre-

sented her reminiscences of "Newport as I Have Known It." A marker was placed on the site where the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry was mustered into service for the Civil War.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Mail service in the rural districts near Ortonville in the years prior to the establishment of rural free delivery in 1903 is described in an article in the *Ortonville Independent* for August 20. In the eighties, according to this account, postal stations known as Custer, Maud, and Sardis were located in farm homes to which mail was delivered once a week from Ortonville.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the village of Ulen was marked by a jubilee celebration on July 17 and 18 and by the publication of a pamphlet entitled *A Half Century of Progress*, in which the history of the community is reviewed by O. E. Reiersgord. It includes accounts of the first settler in the township, Ole Ulen, who arrived in 1871, of the organization of the township in 1881, of the coming of the railroad and the founding of the village in 1886, and of the progress of schools and churches. Early scenes and portraits of pioneers illustrate the booklet.

Miss Gertrude Gove is the author of a detailed "History of Windom" during the first year of its existence which has been appearing in installments in the *Windom Reporter* since August 14. As a background for the narrative, she sketches the story of the establishment of Cottonwood County in 1857 and of its organization in 1870. The need for a railroad town in the new county led to the founding of Windom in 1871, when the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad was extended into the county. How the railroad sponsored the new town, advertising it through its field agent, Stephen Miller, "who not only did much to draw individuals to Windom, but was able to keep them satisfied after they arrived," is related by Miss Gove. In the installments that follow, the names of settlers who arrived during the first year are listed with the numbers of town lots that they purchased, accounts of the establishment of local industries and enterprises are presented, and living conditions and social activities are described. Prices of various staples at Windom in 1871 are listed in the installment for September 25. In preparing her narrative, Miss Gove has

drawn not only upon printed and manuscript records, but upon interviews with pioneer residents of Windom.

Installments of an article on the "Early Settlement of Shell Rock Township, Freeborn County," edited by William E. Thompson, have been appearing in the *Glennville Progress* since September 10. An account of the arrival in 1853 of the first settler in the township, Ole Gulbrandson, is followed by lists of later settlers and descriptions of the beginnings of church activities.

The contributions of a group of Swiss pioneers of the late sixties and early seventies to the development of the cheese industry at Pine Island are emphasized in an article in the *Pine Island Record* for September 24. At first the settlers made cheese in their homes, then they began to haul milk to a few farmers "who built factories, made the milk into Swiss and brick cheese and took a certain proportion of this cheese for their labor." Eventually, in this vicinity, American cheese replaced Swiss cheese. Some information is given in the *Record* about the Minnesota Cheese Producers Association, a co-operative organization which built a large cold storage plant at Pine Island in 1921.

An interview with the late Thomas W. Hunt, a Goodhue County pioneer of 1862, recorded by Mr. C. A. Rasmussen, president of the Goodhue County Historical Society, appears in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for July 1. Hunt settled at Hader, which "was on the St. Paul and Dubuque stage line" and was at one time considered as a possibility for the county seat.

Historical sketches of each township and village in Houston County are to be included in a series of articles on the "Early History of the County" which began publication in the *Caledonia Journal* on July 16. Between that date and October 1 accounts of the settlement and early development of Caledonia, Spring Grove, Wilmington, Brownsville, Hokah, Houston, and La Crescent appear in the weekly issues of the *Journal*. Many interesting incidents of pioneer life are described. For example, it is said that Samuel McPhail, who settled on the site of Caledonia in 1853, in order "to get some work done on a plow, went to Prairie du Chien, paid \$5.00 steamboat fare and \$2.00 hotel bill for sixty cents worth of blacksmith work." Although a number of settlers from Illinois and New England selected claims at

Caledonia in 1853, "the land was not on the market until 1854, when the first land sale was held in Brownsville." Since technically the settlers were squatters, a "mutual protective association was organized, and a manager appointed to look after the interests of members" at the land sale.

A chapter on the "History of Hubbard County" is included in a *Land Economic Survey of Hubbard County, Minnesota*, issued by the agricultural experiment station of the University of Minnesota as number 317 of its *Bulletins* (St. Paul, 1935. 264 p.). Concise information on early settlement, the building of railroads, industrial development, population, and urban development is to be found in this chapter. Some material on the history of agriculture and on the growth of summer resorts is included in chapters on "Primary Land Use" and on "Recreational Uses of Land." The results of a *Soil Survey* of the same county, made under the direction of P. R. Mc-Miller, appear in a pamphlet published recently by the United States department of agriculture (33 p.).

An Isanti County pioneer, the late August Geselius, who immigrated from Sweden with his parents in 1869, wrote a reminiscent narrative which appears in the *North Star* of Cambridge for July 16. His parents on Easter Sunday, 1870, moved into the log cabin that his father had built on his homestead. "First of all the men shoveled away the snow, made a fire, then melted snow to cook coffee and we had breakfast," according to Mr. Geselius. "When that was over the emigrants began to think of old Sweden where they used to go to church Sundays and now it was Easter Sunday, but they could not get to any church that Sunday morning. So they did the best they could, Grandma read the Easter text and they all joined in singing psalms."

A community celebration held on August 25 and 26 and a special "Golden Jubilee Edition" of the *Eden Valley Journal* published on August 21 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Eden Valley. A brief outline of the history of the Meeker County village and sketches of "Community Builders" are among the items published in the *Journal*.

Evidence to show that the building at St. Peter now known as the Brinkman Apartments was erected in 1855 by James M. Winslow of

St. Paul and, was first used as a hotel has been assembled by Mrs. M. E. Stone for the Captain Richard Somers chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Information about the hotel, which was known at different times as the Winslow House, the Wheeler House, and the Ewing House, drawn for the most part from contemporary newspapers, appears in the *St. Peter Herald* for July 24. Previously, some seem to have believed that the structure was erected in 1857 for use as a state capitol building, but according to Mrs. Stone, the actual site of the capitol building is at present unknown.

The "Early History of Stewartville" is outlined by C. A. Duncanson in the *Stewartville Star* for August 13. Much of the article deals with the pioneers of the fifties, including five families who emigrated from Wisconsin in covered wagons.

The centennial on June 21 of the birth of George B. Wright, who founded the city of Fergus Falls, is commemorated in a full-page article on his career by Elmer E. Adams in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for July 11. Wright, who was a native of Vermont, settled in Minnesota in 1857 and ten years later located a claim on the present site of Fergus Falls. His activities in developing water power at the site and in attracting industries and railroads to the new community are emphasized in the article.

The "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Battle Lake Preacher," the Reverend Myron Cooley, who served as pastor of the local Baptist church from 1884 to 1889, appear in the *Battle Lake Review* for August 13. He recalls that during his residence in Battle Lake he "was actively connected with two literary clubs," the Bostonians and the Agassiz. The first was devoted to the study of American literature, the second "was wholly given over to historical study and scientific investigation." An Indian legend which explains "How Battle Lake Received Its Name" appears in the same issue of the *Review*.

The fifty-eighth anniversary of the founding of Renville, which was marked by a community celebration on August 5 and 6, is commemorated in several articles relating to its history in the *Renville Star Farmer* for July 30. The platting of the townsite in 1878 is recalled in a "Historical Sketch of the City of Renville"; the story of local parks is outlined by S. W. Bierlein; and some Minnesota Valley



monuments and markers are described by A. A. Davidson. Miss Gertrude Ackermann's study of Joseph Renville, the Minnesota fur trader for whom the city is named, is reprinted in this issue of the *Star Farmer* from MINNESOTA HISTORY for September, 1931.

St. Cloud has an indefatigable and competent historian in Miss Gertrude Gove, a history teacher in the high school of that city. The first installment of part 2 of her "History of St. Cloud," in which she covers the story of the Granite City during the Civil War period, appears in the *St. Cloud Daily Times and Journal Press* for September 30. Part 1 of Miss Gove's history, which dealt with the earlier pioneer period, appeared in the same paper in November and December, 1933, and was reviewed in this magazine for March, 1934 (see *ante*, 15: 139). The opening chapter of the present narrative deals for the most part with the growth of St. Cloud in the early sixties. It is accompanied by a map of the city in 1874, when, Miss Gove explains, it was much the same as "in 1861-65 except for the fact that there were no wagon and railroad bridges across the Mississippi." Miss Gove's research is careful and detailed and is based upon a thorough examination of a variety of sources. She gives an admirable illustration of the rich possibilities open to workers in the field of Minnesota local history.

The history of the Wabasha County Medical Society is reviewed in an interview, published in the *Wabasha County Leader* for July 9, with Dr. W. F. Wilson, who has been secretary of the organization almost continuously since 1896. The society, which was organized in June, 1869, held its sixty-eighth annual meeting at Wabasha on July 9. A list of the charter members of this pioneer medical society is among the items of information furnished by Dr. Wilson.

The Swedish and Norwegian settlement known as Vista in Waseca County was the scene of an interesting celebration on September 6 and 7, when the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the community was marked. In 1856 "three sturdy young Swedish immigrants scouted southern Minnesota" and staked out claims on the present site of Vista. Among the features of the anniversary program were talks on the history of the community by Herman Peterson and Evelyn Sponberg, a pageant depicting the progress of the settlement, and the dedication of a marker commemorating Asa A.

Sutlief, the pioneer white settler in Waseca County. More than a thousand objects illustrative of the history of Vista were assembled and placed on display during the celebration. Among the articles shown were a plow used in 1858, a hand loom, tools, furniture, and the like. The occasion was marked also by the reprinting of a history of the *Vista Community*, compiled by Mr. Peterson and Miss Sponberg, which was issued originally in 1927 (see *ante*, 8:210).

Historical sketches of Stillwater business concerns claim much of the space in the eightieth anniversary edition of the *Stillwater Post-Messenger*, issued on September 10. Some information about the history of the paper, which traces its origins back to the *Messenger*, established in 1856 by A. J. Van Vorhes, is included. Other articles of interest deal with Joseph R. Brown's part in the founding of Stillwater, theatrical attractions of the eighties, early hotels, the beginnings of railroad service, the library established by the Stillwater lyceum in 1858, the beginnings of telephone service in 1880, and the opening of the Stillwater Auditorium in 1906. Among the illustrations is a set of marks used by pioneer lumbermen in branding logs for identification.

"A Historical Travelogue of Washington County" by Mary Gertrude Sharpe, which appears in two installments in the *White Bear Press* for August 7 and 14, is followed by the same author's "Historical Travelogue of Grant Township," in the issue for August 21. Until 1918, when Lincoln Township was organized, Grant Township included the summer colonies on White Bear Lake at Dellwood, Mahtomedi, and the peninsula. Some interesting information about the development of these sections is presented, and some Indian legends connected with the district are retold.

September 24, 25, and 26 were "Lumberjack Days" in Stillwater, marked by programs commemorating the thriving industry which caused the early growth of the city. "The Stillwater celebration is interesting because it perpetuates the atmosphere of a picturesque era and pays tribute to a group which was just as typical of Minnesota and just as distinct as the whalers were in New England," reads an editorial in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for September 24. "The appliances, vehicles and costumes of the logging days lend uniqueness to a community celebration," continues the editorial, "but they have a

historic value which warrants more attention than that accorded them as the trappings of street pageants. A permanent museum collection to preserve the implements and other reminders of the old logging industry which meant so much to early Minnesota might not be inappropriate in Stillwater or even at the State Historical Society's building." It might be noted that a permanent exhibit of the type suggested, including a go-devil, is to be found in the museum of the Crow Wing County Historical Society at Brainerd. The Minnesota Historical Society also has a lumberjack display, though limitations of space have restricted it to small objects, such as pike poles, peaveys, canthooks, dinner horns, cooking utensils, and clothing. It also has a very valuable collection of pictures illustrating the lumber industry. It is expected that the state society will soon have on exhibit miniature models of a typical Minnesota lumber camp and of logging scenes.

The "Baseball Recollections" of W. E. Easton, presented in the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* for July 27, reveal that the game was brought to Stillwater by John and Frank Green in 1868, when the first local team was organized. The "uniforms consisted of a heavy red shirt, long blue trousers with a white cord down the side, a belt and a heavy cap. The footwear . . . consisted of either moccasins or rubbers, depending somewhat on the weather." The writer traces the story of this sport in Stillwater to 1884, when the local team was included in a "twelve league baseball combination."

That "driving logs was the spectacular and most dangerous part of the work" of the early Minnesota lumberjack is recalled by Mr. James E. McGrath of Stillwater, a pioneer lumberman, in an interview published in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for August 14. He relates that "log jams as high as a house would pile up now and then," and at times they "broke loose with such force that many logs were pushed far up into meadows and flats."

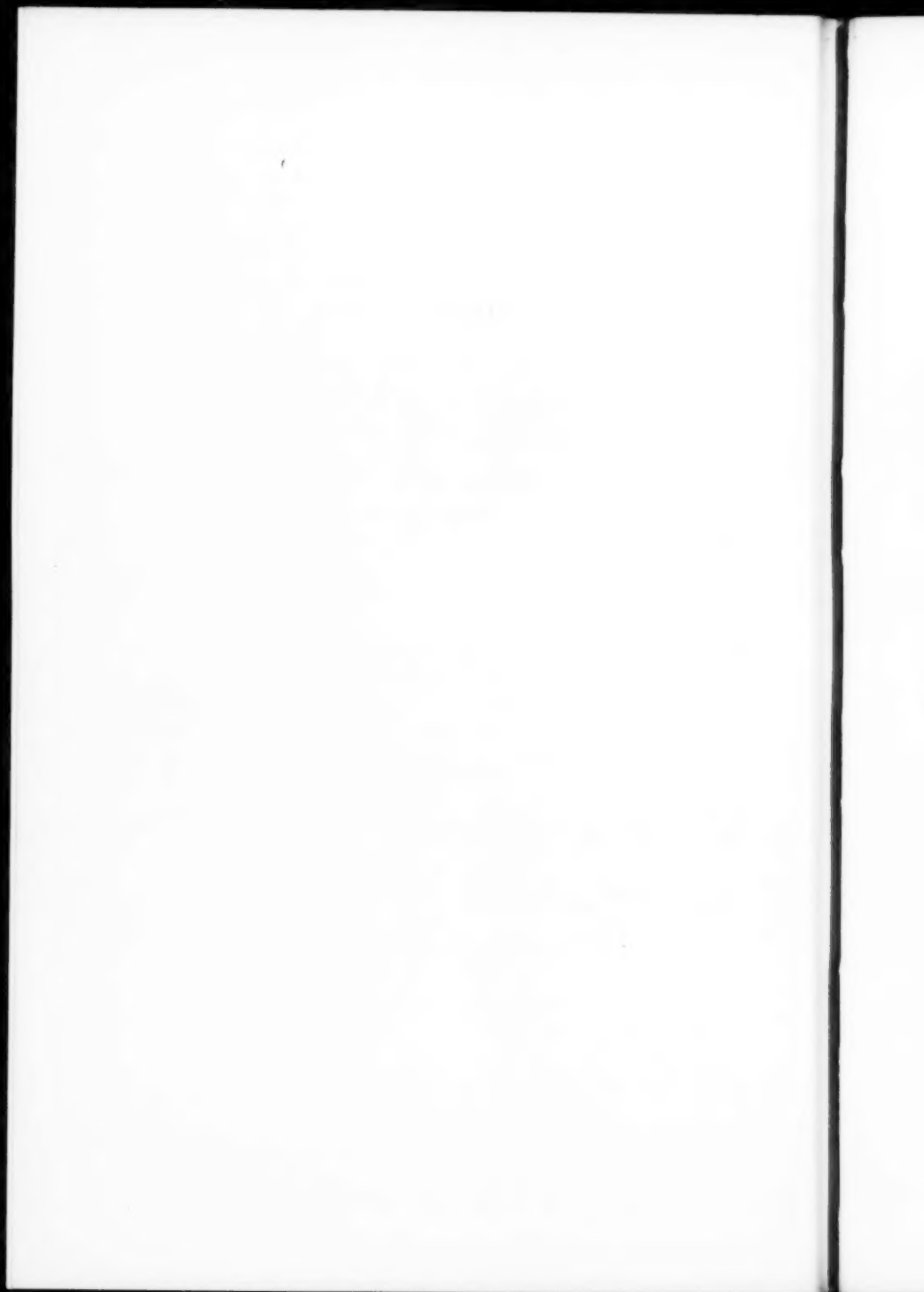
Pioneer life in Riverdale Township, Watonwan County, is described by Mrs. Sophia Graff of Waukesha, Wisconsin, who spent some of her early years there, in an article in the *Watonwan County Plaindealer* of St. James for September 3. Her father, Charles Deckert, settled in this township in 1869, and he perished in the blizzard of 1873. The writer bases her account on the recollections of her mother.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Annandale was celebrated by the people of this Wright County community on August 27, 28, and 29. A special anniversary edition of the *Annandale Advocate*, issued on August 21, contains an outline of the history of the village from October, 1886, when the town was platted, to 1930. Sketches of some pioneer settlers and a brief history of the village schools also are included in the issue. Among the illustrations is a view of Annandale in 1887.

That lumber, grain, potatoes, and wool were the chief products shipped out of Cokato in the late seventies is revealed in a record book recently found in the attic of a building once used as the local depot of the Great Northern Railroad. An article based on the entries in the volume appears in the *Cokato Enterprise* for July 30. According to this account, a "typical entry indicates that eight carloads of wheat went out of Cokato in one day." The record shows that only occasionally a barrel of butter was shipped to Minneapolis or St. Paul. The "small importance of butter" is interesting in view of the fact that the Cokato district is now chiefly dependent upon its dairy products.

Clarkfield, a community in Yellow Medicine County which was platted in 1884 and incorporated in 1887, marked its fiftieth anniversary on September 23 and 24. A history of the village appears in installments in the *Clarkfield Advocate* from September 3 to 24. According to the editor, much of the information for this sketch was furnished by Mr. A. P. Rose of Marshall. The establishment of a post office in 1884, the erection of a city hall in 1911, and the building of grain elevators in the community are among the subjects touched upon.

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TO  
MINNESOTA HISTORY  
*A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE*  
Volume XVII  
1936



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## ERRATA

- Page 29, line 3, for *as logic forces used to do*, read *as logic forces us to do*.  
 — 122, line 34, for *Glencoe*, read *Glenwood*.  
 — 200, line 27, for *diplomacy*, read *diplomatic*.  
 — 213, line 21, for *August L. Larpenteur*, read *Auguste L. Larpenteur*.  
 — 238, line 20, for *Mr. E. H. Pelton*, read *Mr. E. A. Pelton*.  
 — 311, line 22, for *Grey*, read *Gray*.  
 — 313, line 35, for *Mr. A. B. Easton*, read *Mr. W. E. Easton*.  
 — 335, line 14, for *Sylvanus P. Lowry*, read *Sylvanus B. Lowry*.  
 — 338, line 7, for *Winnibagoshish*, read *Winnibigoshish*.  
 — 357, line 36, for *Mrs. Sarah R. Heald*, read *Mrs. Sarah T. Heald*.  
 — 393, line 17, for *Point Douglass*, read *Point Douglas*.  
 — 462, line 37, for *Dr. P. L. Scanlon*, read *Dr. P. L. Scanlan*.

